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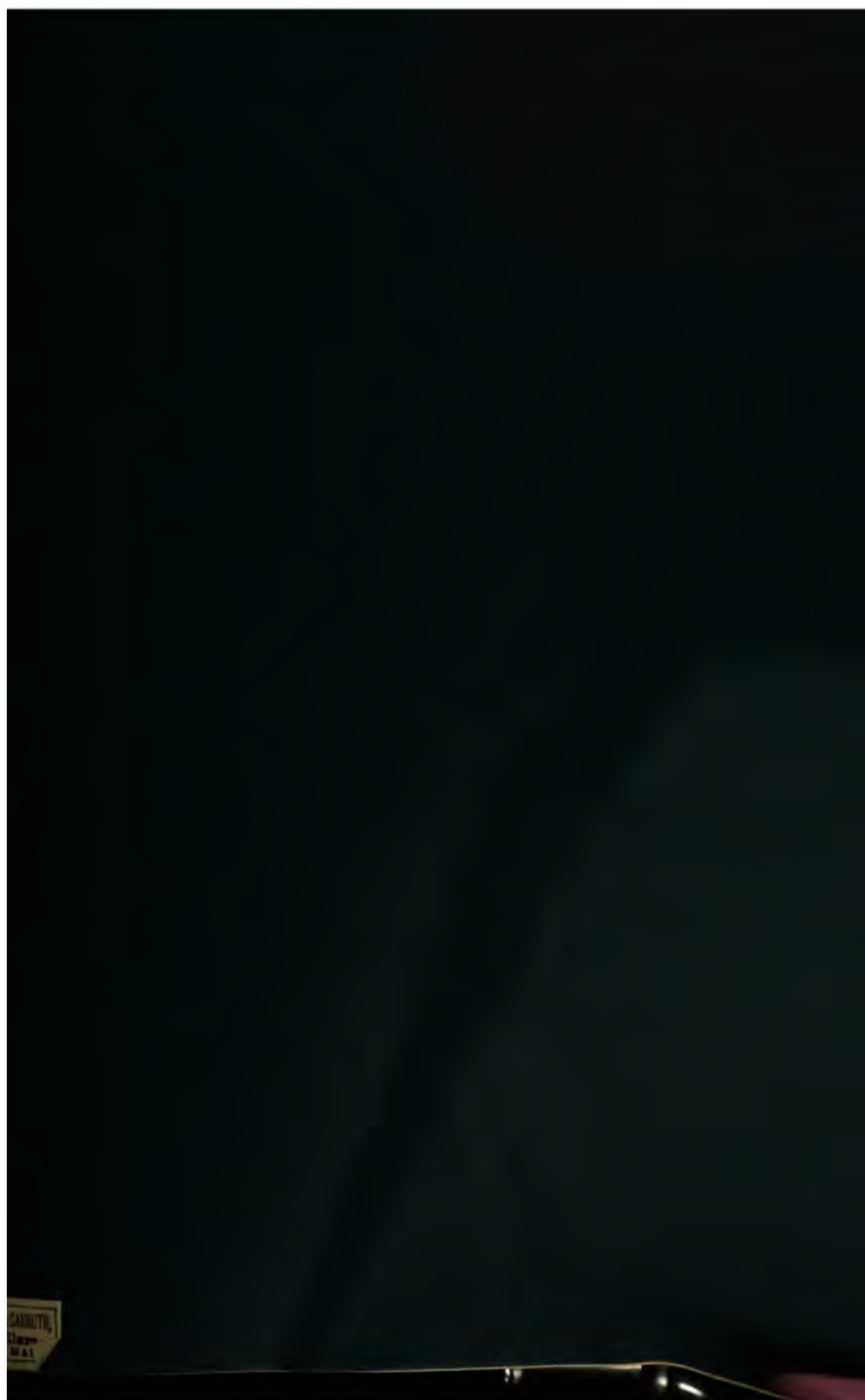
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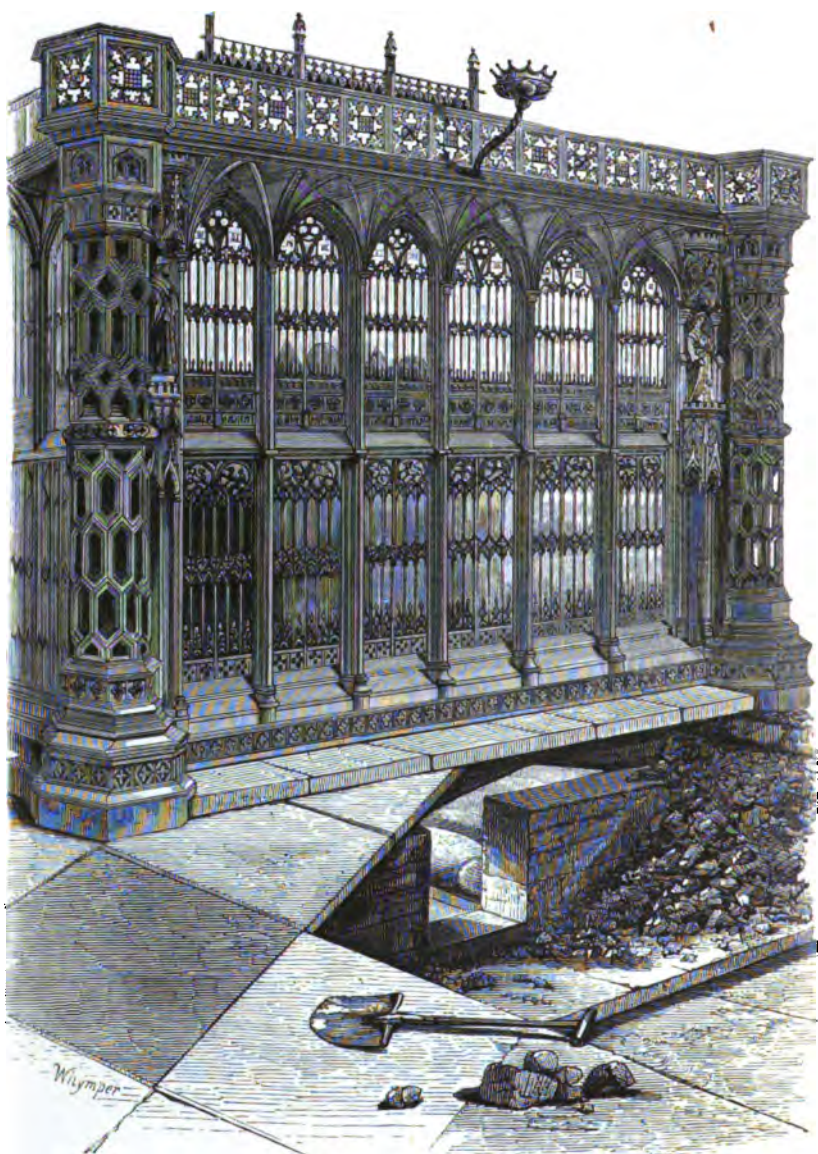
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LATE DEAN OF WESTMINSTER:

CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE OF FRANCE.



THE CORONATION CHAIR.

FIFTH EDITION,
WITH THE AUTHOR'S FINAL REVISIONS.

With Illustrations.

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1882.

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'The Abbey of Westminster hath been always held the greatest sanctuary and randevouze of devotion of the whole island; whereunto the situation of the very place seems to contribute much, and to strike a holy kind of reverence and sweetness of melting piety in the hearts of the beholders.'

HOWELL's *Perlustration of London* (1657), p. 346.

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WITH EVERY SENTIMENT OF LOYAL AND RESPECTFUL GRATITUDE

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THIS HUMBLE RECORD
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WHICH HAS FOR CENTURIES ENSHRINED
THE VARIED MEMORIES OF HER AUGUST ANCESTORS
AND THE MANIFOLD GLORIES OF HER FREE AND FAMOUS KINGDOM
AND WHICH WITNESSED THE SOLEMN CONSECRATION
OF HER OWN AUSPICIOUS REIGN
TO ALL HIGH AND HOLY PURPOSES

NOTE TO THE FIFTH EDITION.

*This volume is printed from the copy left by
the Dean at his death, and containing his final
corrections and additions.*

Easter, 1882.

PREFACE.

THE following Work was undertaken, in great measure, in consequence of the kind desire expressed by many friends, chiefly by my honoured colleagues in the Chapter of Westminster, on occasion of the Eight Hundredth Anniversary of the Dedication of the Abbey, that I would attempt to illustrate its history by Memorials similar to those which, in former years, I had published in connection with Canterbury Cathedral. Such a proposal was in entire consonance with my own previous inclinations; but I have undertaken it not without much misgiving.

The task was one which involved considerable research, such as, amidst the constant pressure of other and more important occupations, I was conscious that I could ill afford to make. This difficulty has been in part met by the valuable co-operation which I have received from persons the best qualified to give it. Besides the facilities rendered to me by the members and officers of our own Capitular and Collegiate Body, to whom I here tender my grateful thanks, I may especially name Mr. Joseph Burtt, of the Public Record Office, whose careful arrangement of our Archives during the last three years has given him ample opportunities for bringing any new light to bear on the subject; the lamented Joseph Robertson, of the Register House, Edinburgh, who was always

ready to supply, from his copious stores, any knowledge bearing on the Northern Kingdom; the Rev. John Stoughton, who has afforded me much useful information on the Nonconformist antiquities of the Abbey; Mr. Thoms, the learned Editor of 'Notes and Queries,' and Sub-Librarian of the House of Lords; Mr. George Scharf, Keeper of the National Portrait Gallery; Mr. Doyne C. Bell, of the Privy Purse, Buckingham Palace; and Colonel Chester, a distinguished antiquarian of the United States,¹ who, with a diligence which spared no labour, and a disinterestedness which spared no expenditure, has at his own cost edited and illustrated with a copious accuracy which leaves nothing to be desired, the Registers of the Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials in the Abbey.

For such inaccuracies as must be inevitable in a work covering so large a field, I must crave, not only the indulgence, but the corrections of those whose longer experience of Westminster and whose deeper acquaintance with English history and literature will enable them to point out errors which have doubtless escaped my notice in this rapid survey.

After all that has been written on the Abbey, it would be absurd for any modern work to make pretensions to more than a rearrangement of already existing materials. It may be as well briefly to enumerate the authorities from which I have drawn.

I. The original sources, some of which have been hardly accessible to former explorers, are—

1. The ARCHIVES preserved in the Muniment Chamber of the Abbey. These reach back to the Charters of the Saxon Kings. They were roughly classified by Widmore, in the last century, and

¹ For the verification of statements and references in the earlier Chapters, I am in a great measure indebted to Mr. Frank Scott Haydon and Mr.

Edward Rhodes, of the Public Record Office; and for the Index to my friend Mr. George Grove, and to Mr. Henry F. Turle.

have now undergone a thorough and skilful examination under the care of Mr. Burt of the Public Record Office (see *Archæological Journal*, No. 114, p. 135).

2. The CHAPTER BOOKS, which reach from 1542 to the present time, with the exception of two important blanks—from 1554 to 1558, under the restored Benedictines of Queen Mary; and from 1642 to 1662, under the Commissioners of the Commonwealth.

3. The REGISTERS of Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials, mentioned p. 96.

4. The PRECENTOR'S BOOK, containing a partial record of customs during the last century.

5. The 'CONSUETUDINES' of Abbot WARE, and

6. The MS. HISTORY OF THE ABBEY by FLETE, both mentioned p. 326.

7. The MSS. in the Heralds' and Lord Chamberlain's Offices.

8. The 'INVENTORY OF THE MONASTERY,' lately discovered at the Land Revenue Record Office by the Rev. Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, and printed in the Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, vol. iv.

II. The chief printed authorities are:—

1. *Reges, Reginae et Nobiles in Ecclesia Beati Petri Westmonasteriensis Sepulti*, by WILLIAM CAMDEN (1660, 1603, and 1606).

2. *Monumenta Westmonasteriensia*, by HENRY KEEPE (usually signed H. K.), 1683.

3. *Antiquities of St. Peter's*, by J. CRULL (usually signed J. C., sometimes H. S.) [These three works relate chiefly to the Monuments.]

4. *History and Antiquities of the Abbey Church of Westminster*, by JOHN DART (2 vols. folio, 1723).

5. *History of the Church of St. Peter, and Inquiry into the Time of its First Foundation*, by RICHARD WIDMORE, Librarian to the Chapter and Minor Canon of Westminster 1750 (carefully based on the original Archives).

6. *History of the Abbey*, by R. AKERMAN (2 vols. royal 4to, 1812).

7. *History and Antiquities of the Abbey Church of St. Peter, Westminster*, by JOHN NEALE and EDWARD BRAYLEY (2 vols. folio, 1818). [This is the most complete work.]

8. *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey*, under the supervision

of GEORGE GILBERT SCOTT (2d edit. 1863), by various contributors (chiefly architectural).

To these must be added the smaller but exceedingly useful works—PETER CUNNINGHAM'S *Handbook of Westminster Abbey*, and MR. RIDGWAY'S *Gem of Thorney Island*; and the elaborate treatises of STOW, MALCOLM, and MAITLAND, on London; of SMITH, BRAYLEY, and WALCOTT, on Westminster; and of CARTER, GOUGH, and WEEVER, on sepulchral monuments in general.

III. In turning from the sources of information to the use made of them, a serious difficulty occurred. Here, as in the case of Canterbury Cathedral, it was my intention to confine myself strictly to the *historical* memorials of the place, leaving the architectural and purely antiquarian details to those who have treated them in the works to which I have already referred.¹ But the History of Westminster Abbey differs essentially from that of Canterbury Cathedral, or, indeed, of any other ecclesiastical edifice in England. In Canterbury I had the advantage of four marked events, or series of events, of which one especially—the murder of Becket—whilst it was inseparably entwined with the whole structure of the building, was capable of being reproduced, in all its parts, as a separate incident. In Westminster no such single act has occurred. The interest of the place depends (as I have pointed out in Chapter I.) on the connection of the different parts with the whole, and of the whole with the general History of England. These 'HISTORICAL MEMORIALS' ought to be, in fact, 'The History of England in Westminster Abbey.' Those who are acquainted with M. Ampère's delightful book, *L'Histoire Romaine à Rome*, will appreciate at once the charm and the difficulty of such an undertaking. In order to accomplish it, I was compelled, on the one hand, to observe as far as possible a chronological arrangement,

¹ Documents of this kind, not before published, or not generally accessible, were printed in the Appendix to the earlier editions of this work.

such as is lost in works like Neale's or Cunningham's, which necessarily follow the course of the topography. But, on the other hand, the lines of interest are so various and so divergent, that to blend them in one indiscriminate series would have confused relations which can only be made perspicuous by being kept distinct. At the cost therefore of some repetition, and probably of some misplacements, I have treated each of these subjects by itself, though arranging them in the sequence which was engendered by the historical order of the events.

The Foundation of the Abbey,¹ growing out of the physical features of the locality, the legendary traditions, and the motives and character of Edward the Confessor, naturally forms the groundwork of all that succeeds.

From the Burial of the Confessor, and the peculiar circumstances attendant upon it, sprang the Coronation of William the Conqueror, which carries with it the Coronations of all future Sovereigns. These scenes were, perhaps, too slightly connected with the Abbey to justify even the summary description which I have given. But the subject, viewed as a whole, is so curious, that I may be pardoned for having endeavoured to concentrate in one focus these periodical pageants, which certainly have been regarded as amongst the chief glories of the place.²

The Tombs of the Kings, as taking their rise from the Burial of Henry III. by the Shrine of the Confessor, followed next; and their connection with the structure of the Church is so intimate, that this seemed the most fitting point at which to introduce such notices of the architectural changes as were compatible with the plan of the work. This Chapter³ accordingly contains the key of the whole.

¹ Chapter I.

² Chapter II.

³ Chapter III.

From the Burials of the Kings followed, in continuous order, the interments of eminent men. These I have endeavoured to track in the successive groups of Courtiers, Warriors, and Statesmen, through the marked epochs of Richard II., of Elizabeth, and of the Commonwealth, ending with the Statesmen's Corners in the North Transept and the Nave. In like manner the Men of Letters, and of Arts and Sciences, are carried through the various links which, starting from the Grave of Chaucer in Poets' Corner, include the South Transept, and the other Chapels whither by degrees they have penetrated. I have also added to these such Graves or Monuments as, without falling under any of the foregoing heads, yet deserve a passing notice.¹

There still remained the outlying edifices of the Abbey, which necessitated a brief sketch of the history of the events and personages (chiefly ecclesiastical) that have figured within the Precincts before and since the Reformation. For these two Chapters, as a general rule, I have reserved the burial-places of the Abbots and Deans. In the first period,² I have thought it best to include the whole history of such buildings as the Chapter House, the Treasury, and the Gatehouse, although in so doing it was necessary to anticipate what properly belongs to the second division of the local history. Only such details are given as were peculiar to Westminster, without enlarging on the features common to all Benedictine monasteries. Again I have, in the period since the Reformation,³ reserved for a single summary all that related to the local reminiscences of the Convocations that have been held within the Precincts. The History of Westminster School, which opened a larger field than could be conveniently

¹ Chapter IV.

² Chapter V.

³ Chapter VI.

included within the limits of this work, I have noticed only so far as was necessary to give a general survey of the destination of the whole of the Conventual buildings, and to form a united representation of the whole Collegiate Body during some of the most eventful periods of its annals.

In treating subjects of this wide and varied interest, I have endeavoured to confine myself to such events and such remarks as were essentially connected with the localities. In so doing I have, on the one hand, felt bound to compress the notices of personages or incidents that were too generally known to need detailed descriptions ; and, on the other hand, to enlarge on some of the less familiar names, which, without some such explanation, would lose their significance. I have also not scrupled to quote at length many passages—sometimes celebrated, sometimes, perhaps, comparatively unknown—which, from their intrinsic beauty, have themselves become part of the History of the Abbey. This must be the excuse, if any be needed, for the numerous citations from Shakspeare, Fuller, Clarendon, Addison, Gray, Walpole, Macaulay, Irving, and Froude. The details of the pageants, unless when necessary for the historical bearing of the events, I have left to be examined in the authorities to which I have referred.

IV. I cannot bring this survey of the History of the Abbey to a conclusion, without recurring for a moment to various suggestions which were made, by those interested in the subject, at the time of the celebration of the Eighth Centenary of the Foundation. Some—the most important—have, happily, been carried out. By the liberality of Parliament, under the auspices, first of Mr. Gladstone and

Mr. Cowper Temple in 1865, and then of Sir Stafford Northcote and Lord Henry Lennox in 1875, the ancient Chapter House has been restored. By the aid of the Ecclesiastical Commission, an apparatus for warming has been carried through the whole edifice, materially conducive to the preservation of the Fabric and the Monuments, as well as to the convenience of Public Worship. The erection of a new Reredos, more worthy of so august a sanctuary, has at length been completed, under the care of the Subdean, Lord John Thynne, to whose long and unfailing interest in the Abbey its structure and arrangements have been so much indebted.

In addition to these improvements, it has been often suggested that none would add so much to the external beauty of the Building, without changing its actual proportions, or its relations to past history, as the restoration of the Great Northern Entrance to something of its original magnificence, which has almost disappeared under the alterations of later times. In this plan for glorifying the main approach to the Abbey from the great thoroughfare of the Metropolis much progress has been made since the work was published.

The Royal Monuments—after a long discussion occasioned by a Report presented in 1854, by the distinguished Architect of the Abbey, Sir Gilbert Scott, to Sir W. Molesworth, then First Commissioner of Public Works—were in 1869, at the advice of a Commission of eminent antiquaries, successfully cleaned from the incrustation which had obliterated their original gilding and delicate workmanship. This work, which was originated for the Tudor tombs, by Mr. Layard, was completed for the Plantagenet tombs under his successor Mr. Ayrton.

The Private Monuments of the sixteenth and seven-

teenth centuries offer less difficulty. I have much pleasure in expressing my grateful sense of the promptitude with which the Cecil, Russell, Sidney, and Lennox tombs have, by the noble and illustrious Houses which they represent, been restored to their original splendour, yet so as not to interfere with the general harmony of the surrounding edifice. These examples, it is hoped, will be followed up generally.

The question of the later Monuments is sufficiently discussed in the account of them in the pages of this work.¹ Doubtless, some rearrangement and reduction might with advantage take place. But, even where the objections of the representatives of the deceased can be surmounted, constant care is needed not to disturb the historical associations which in most cases have given a significance to the particular spots occupied by each. Each must thus be considered on its own merits. One measure, however, will sooner or later become indispensable, if the sepulchral character of the Abbey is to be continued into future times, for which, happily, the existing arrangements of the locality give ample facilities. It has been often proposed that a Cloister should be erected, communicating with the Abbey by the Chapter House, and continued on the site of the present Abingdon Street, facing the Palace of Westminster on one side, and the College Garden on the other. Such a building, the receptacle not of any of the existing Monuments (which would be yet more out of place there than in their present position), but of the Graves and the Memorials of another thousand years of English History, would meet every requirement of the future, without breaking with the traditions of the past.

I have ventured to throw out these suggestions, as

¹ See Chapter IV.

relating to improvements which depend on external assistance. For such as can be undertaken by our Collegiate Body—for all measures relating to the conservation and repair of the fabric, and to the extension of the benefits of the institution—I can but express my confident hope that they will, as hitherto, receive every consideration from those whose honour is so deeply involved in the usefulness, the grandeur, and the perpetuity of the venerable and splendid edifice of which we are the appointed guardians, and which lies so near our hearts.

June 1876.

NOTE TO THE FOURTH EDITION.



IN order to ease the bulk of this volume, I have omitted from it the various documents which, having been printed in the three previous Editions, are there available for any who wish to refer to them, but are hardly required for general readers. I subjoin a list:—

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EXPLANATION OF THE TYPES AND SIGNS USED
IN THE PLANS.

Roman capital letters	indicate	Royal persons
" smaller ditto	"	Military and Naval men
" small letters	"	Literary men
" ditto, with spaces between the letters	"	Other famous personages
Italic capital letters	"	Statesmen
" small ditto	"	Ecclesiastics
o	"	Monuments
!	"	Graves

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF

EVENTS CONNECTED WITH WESTMINSTER ABBEY.¹

A.D.		A.D.	
153?	Fall of the Temple of Apollo?	1115	Consecration of Bernard, Bishop of St. David's, Sept. 19.
90-190?	Foundation of the Abbey by Lucius?	1118	Burial of Matilda, May 1.
616?	Foundation by Sebert and Vision of Edric?	1120	<i>Herbert, Abbot</i> Consecration of David of Bangor, April 4.
785?	Charter of Offa?	1124	Council under John of Crema.
951?	" of Edgar?	1135	Coronation of Stephen, Dec. 26.
1042	Fulfilment of the Vow of Edward the Confessor to St. Peter.	1140	<i>Gervase, Abbot.</i>
1049	<i>Edwin, Abbot.</i> Embassy to Reims.	1154	Coronation of Henry II., Dec. 19.
1050	Foundation of the Abbey.	1160	<i>Lawrence, Abbot.</i>
1066	Dedication of the Abbey, Dec. 28.	1163	Canonisation of the Confessor, and First Translation of his Remains, Oct. 18.
1066	Death of the Confessor, Jan. 5.	1170	Coronation of Prince Henry, June 14.
	Burial of the Confessor, Jan. 6.	1176	Council of Westminster, and Struggle of the Primates.
	Coronation of Harold (?), Jan. 6.	1186	Consecration of Hugh of Lincoln, Sept. 21.
	" of William the Conqueror, Dec. 25.		Consecration of William of Worcester, Sept. 21.
1068	Coronation of Matilda, May 11.	1189	Coronation of Richard I., Sept. 3.
	<i>Geoffrey, Abbot.</i>		Consecration of Hubert of Salisbury and Godfrey of Winchester, Oct. 22.
1069	Imprisonment of Egelric, Bishop of Durham	1191	<i>Postard, Abbot.</i>
1072	Egelric buried.	1194	Consecration of Herbert of Salisbury, June 5.
1076	First Council of Westminster under Lanfranc. Miracle of Wolfstan's Crozier.	1195	Trial between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Abbot.
	<i>Vitalis, Abbot.</i>	1197	Consecration of Robert of Bangor, March 16.
1082	<i>Gislebert, Abbot.</i>	1198	Consecration of Eustace of Ely, March 8.
1087	Coronation of William Rufus, Sept. 26.	1199	Consecration of William of London, May 23.
1098	Opening of the Confessor's Coffin by Gundulph and Gislebert.		
1100	Building of New Palace of Westminster.		
	Coronation of Henry I., Aug. 5.		
	" of Matilda, Nov. 11.		
1102	Council under Anselm.		

¹ When the table contains reference to the burial of illustrious persons in the Abbey, the date of their burial is given; where they have only cenotaphs, then the date of their death.

A.D.		A.D.	
1199	Coronation of John, May 27.	1281	Erection of the Tomb of Henry III.
1200	<i>Papillon, Abbot.</i> Consecration of John Gray of Norwich, Sept. 24. Consecration of Giles Brace of Hereford, Sept. 24.	1284	<i>Wenlock, Abbot.</i> Dedication of Coronet of Llewelyn to the Confessor. Prince Alfonso buried, Aug. 14.
1203	Consecration of William de Blois of Lincoln before the High Altar, Aug. 24. Consecration of Geoffrey of St. David's, Dec. 7.	1285	Statute 'Circumspecte Agatis.'
1214	<i>Humez, Abbot.</i>	1290	Council of Westminster. Expulsion of the Jews from England.
1220	Foundation of Lady Chapel, May 16. Coronation of Henry III., May 17.	1291	Reinterment of Henry III., and Delivery of his Heart to the Abbess of Fontevault. Eleanor of Castile buried, Dec. 17.
1221	Consecration of Eustace of London, April 25	1292	Withdrawal of Claims by John Balliol in Chapter House.
1222	<i>Barking, Abbot.</i>	1294	Inundation of the Thames. Assembly of Clergy and Laity in Refectory.
1224	Consecration of William Brewer of Exeter, April 21. Consecration of Ralph Neville of Chichester, April 21.	1296	William of Valence buried. Edmund Crouchback buried. Dedication of the Stone of Scone.
1226	Consecration of Thomas Blunville of Norwich, Dec. 20.	1303	Robbery of the Treasury.
1236	Marriage of Henry III. and Eleanor, Jan. 14.	1307	Burial of Edward I., Oct. 27. Removal of Sebert.
1244	Council of State held in Refectory.	1308	Coronation of Edward II., Feb. 25 <i>Kydington, Abbot.</i>
1245	Rebuilding of the Abbey by Henry III.	1315	<i>Curtlington, Abbot.</i>
1246	<i>Crokesley, Abbot.</i>	1323	Aymer de Valence buried.
1247	Fulk de Castro Novo buried. Deposition of Relics.	1327	Coronation of Edward III., Feb. 1.
1250	Chapter House begun. Richard of Wendover, Bishop of Rochester, buried.	1328	Coronation of Philippa, Feb. 2. Writ of Edward III. requiring the Abbot of Westminster to give up the Stone of Scone, July 21.
1252	Excommunication of Transgressors of Magna Charta.	1334	<i>Henley, Abbot.</i> John of Eltham buried.
1256	Parliament met in Chapter House, March 26. Council of State in Chapter House.	1344	<i>Byrocheston, Abbot.</i>
1257	Princess Catherine buried.	1345	Eastern Cloister finished.
1258	<i>Lentisham, Abbot.</i> <i>Ware, Abbot.</i>	1348	The Black Death. Burial of twenty-six Monks.
1261	Ford, Abbot of Glastonbury, buried.	1349	<i>Langham, Abbot.</i>
1263	Commons of London assemble in Cloisters.	1350	Statute of Provisions passed in Chapter House. Continuation of Nave and Cloisters by Abbot Langham.
1267	Mosaic Pavement brought from Rome.	1362	<i>Littlington, Abbot.</i>
1269	Second Translation of Edward the Confessor, Oct. 13. Marriage of Edmond and Aveline, Earl and Countess of Lancaster.	1363	Negotiations with David II. for the Restoration of the Stone of Scone. Rebuilding of Abbot's House and of Jerusalem Chamber, and Building of South and West Cloisters, by Abbot Littlington.
1271	Heart of Prince Henry, Nephew to the King, placed near Confessor's Tomb.	1369	Burial of Philippa.
1272	Burial of Henry III., Nov. 20.	1376	Langham buried.
1273	Aveline of Lancaster buried.	1377	Purchase of Tower which became the Jewel House, and later the Parliament Office, by Edward III.
1274	Coronation of Edward I. and Eleanor, Aug. 19.		Burial of Edward III.

A.D.		A.D.	
1377	Coronation of Richard II., July 16.	1470	Lord Carew buried. Elizabeth Woodville takes Sanctuary, Oct. 1. Edward V. born in the Sanctuary, Nov. 4.
1378	Murder of Sir John Hawle in the Abbey, Aug. 11. Reopening of the Abbey, Dec. 8.	1472	Infant Margaret of York buried, Dec. 11.
1381	Outrage of Wat Tyler.	1474	Milling consecrated to Hereford in the Lady Chapel, Aug. 21. <i>Esteney, Abbot.</i>
1382	Marriage of Richard II. with Anne of Bohemia, Jan. 22.	1477	Caxton exercises his Art in the Abbey.
1386	<i>William of Colchester, Abbot.</i>	1482	Dudley, Bishop of Durham, buried.
1391	Walter of Leycester buried.	1483	Elizabeth Woodville and Richard of York take refuge in the Abbot's Hall, and take Sanctuary a second time, April. Coronation of Richard III., July 6.
1393	Statute of Præmunire passed in Chapter House.	1485	Anne Neville, Queen of Richard III., buried. Coronation of Henry VII., Oct. 30
1394	Burial of Anne of Bohemia.	1487	Coronation of Elizabeth of York, Nov. 25.
1395	John of Waltham buried.	1491	Caxton buried in St. Margaret's Churchyard.
1396	Shackle buried. Sir John Golofre buried.	1492	Bishop Milling buried.
1397	Prince Thomas of Woodstock buried. Robert Waldeby buried.	1495	Princess Elizabeth buried, Sept. <i>Fascet, Abbot.</i>
1399	Widow of Thomas of Woodstock buried. Sir Bernard Brocas buried. Coronation of Henry IV., Oct. 13. Conspiracy of William of Colchester.	1498	Lord Wells buried in Lady Chapel. Decision of the Privy Council on the burial of Henry VI.
1400	Chancer buried.	1500	<i>Islip, Abbot.</i>
1403	Coronation of Joan.	1503	Foundation of Henry VII.'s Chapel, Jan. 24. Burial of Elizabeth of York, Feb. 25.
1413	Death of Henry IV. in Jerusalem Chamber, March 20. Conversion of Henry V. Coronation of Henry V., April 9. Removal of body of Richard II. from Langley to Windsor.	1504	Licence of Pope Julius II. for the removal of the body of Henry VI. to Westminster.
1413-1416	Prolongation of the Nave under Henry V. by Whittington.	1505	Sir Humphrey Stanley buried.
1414	Sir John Windsor buried.	1507	Sir Giles Daubeney buried.
1415	Richard Courtney, Bishop of Norwich, buried. Te Deum for the Battle of Agincourt, Nov. 23.	1509	Infant Prince Henry buried. Burial of Henry VII., May 9. Coronation of Henry VIII., June 24. Margaret of Richmond buried.
1421	Coronation of Catherine, Feb. 24. <i>Haverden, Abbot.</i> Convention of Henry V. in Chapter House.	1512	Attempt to rescue a Prisoner in Sanctuary.
1422	Burial of Henry V., Nov. 7.	1515	Reception of Wolsey's Hat, Nov. 18.
1429	Coronation of Henry VI., Nov. 6.	1523	Convocation summoned by Wolsey. Ruthell, Bishop of Durham, buried.
1431	Louis Robsart buried.	1529	Convocation in the Chapter House.
1433	Philippa, Duchess of York, buried.	1531	Act of Submission, April 12. Death of Skelton in the Sanctuary, buried in St. Margaret's Churchyard.
1437	Burial of Catherine of Valois, Feb. 8.		
1440	<i>Kyrton, Abbot.</i>		
1445	Coronation of Margaret, April 30.		
1457	Sir John Harpedon buried.		
1451-1460	Visits of Henry VI. to the Abbey to choose his Grave.		
1461	Coronation of Edward IV., June 28		
1466	<i>Norwich, Abbot.</i>		
1469	<i>Milling, Abbot.</i>		
1470	Humphrey Bourchier buried.		

A.D.		A.D.	
1532	Abbot Islip buried. <i>Boston or Benson, Abbot.</i>	1557	Shrine visited by the Duke of Muscovy, April 21. Philip and Mary attend Mass, May 22.
1533	Coronation of Anne Boleyn, June 1.		Burial of Anne of Cleves, Aug. 4.
1534	Imprisonment of Sir Thomas More in Abbot's House.		Master Gennings buried, Nov. 26.
1539	<i>Benson, Dean.</i>		Procession in the Abbey, Nov. 30.
1540	Convocation in the Chapter House on Anne of Cleves, July 7.	1558	Paschal Candle restored, March 21.
	Consecration of Thirlby to the see of Westminster, Dec. 19.		Master Wentworth buried, Oct. 22.
1542	First Orders of Dean and Chapter.		Burial of Mary, Dec. 13.
1543	Nowell, Head-Master.		Obsequies of Charles V. celebrated, Dec. 24.
1544	Bellringer appointed at request of Princess Elizabeth.	1559	Coronation of Elizabeth, Jan. 15.
1545	Consecration of Kitohin, Bishop of Llandaff, May 3.		Conference between Protestants and Roman Catholics, March 31.
	Great Refectory pulled down.		Frances Grey, Duchess of Suffolk, buried Dec. 5.
1546	Robbery of Silver Head of Statue of Henry V., Jan. 3.		Feckenham deprived, Jan. 4
1547	Last Sitting of Commons in Chapter House, Jan. 28.	1560	Feckenham's Farewell to the College Garden.
	Coronation of Edward VI., Feb. 20.		Feckenham sent to the Tower, May 20.
	Chapter House used as a Record Office.	1561	<i>Bill, Dean.</i>
	Order for Twenty Tons of Caen Stone granted to the Protector Somerset.		Dean Bill buried, July 22.
	Order for selling 'Monuments of Idolatry,' and for buying Books.		<i>Gabriel Goodman, Dean.</i>
1549	Dean Benson buried. <i>Cox, Dean.</i>	1563	Convocation in Henry VII.'s Chapel, Jan. 9-April 17.
	Substitution of 'Communion' for 'Mass,' and change of Vestments.		Signature of the Thirty-nine Articles, Jan. 29.
1551	Lord Wentworth buried, March 7.	1566	Fall of the Sanctuary.
	Redmayne buried.		Hangings of the Abbey given to the College.
	Monument erected to Chaucer.	1568	Lady Catherine Knollys buried.
1553	Burial of Edward VI., Aug. 8.		Anne Birkhead buried.
	Coronation of Mary, Oct. 1.	1571	Sir R. Peckshall buried.
	Flight of Cox.	1574	Library founded.
	<i>Weston, Dean.</i>	1575	Christening of Elizabeth Russell.
1554	High Mass for opening of Parliament, Oct. 5.	1577	Margaret Lennox buried.
	High Mass of the Order of the Golden Fleece, Nov. 30.	1580	Maurice Pickering, Keeper of Gatehouse.
1555	Abbot Feckenham installed, Nov. 22.	1584	Wm. Thynne buried.
	Feckenham and his Monks walk in procession, Dec. 6.		John, Lord Russell, buried.
1557	Shrine of the Confessor set up, Jan. 5.	1586	Wynfred Bridges, Marchioness of Winchester, buried.
	Remains of the Confessor restored to the Shrine, March 20	1587	Anne Seymour, Duchess of Somerset, buried.
	Sermons by Abbot Feckenham, April 5.		Sir Thomas Bromley buried.
		1588	Anne Vere, Countess of Oxford, buried.
		1589	Frances Sidney, Countess of Sussex, buried.
			Mildred Cecil, Lady Burleigh, buried.
			Frances Howard, Countess of Sussex, buried.
		1591	Elizabeth, Countess of Salisbury, buried.
			Elizabeth, Countess of Exeter, buried.

A.D.	
1593	Camden, Head-Master. Keeper appointed for the Monu- ments.
1594	John de Burgh died.
1596	Lord Hunsdon buried. Sir John Puckering buried. Henry Noel buried.
1598	Frances Howard, Countess of Hertford, buried. Bells given by Dean Goodman. Sir Thomas Owen buried. Lord Burleigh buried. Sir R. Bingham died.
1599	Spenser buried. Schoolroom constructed.
1601	Elizabeth Russell buried. Dean Goodman buried. <i>L. Andrewes, Dean.</i> Monument to Henry, Lord Norris, and his Sons. Consecration of Goodwin, Bishop of Llandaff, Nov. 22.
1602	Entire Suppression of Sanctuary Rights.
1603	Burial of Elizabeth, April 28. Coronation of James I., July 25. Meeting of Convocation.
1605	<i>R. Neale, Dean</i> , Nov. 5. Sir G. Villiers buried.
1607	Infant Princess Sophia buried. Infant Princess Mary buried.
1609	Sir Francis Vere buried.
1610	<i>George Montaigne, Dean.</i> Transference of the Body of Mary Stuart to Westminster, Oct. 4.
1612	Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales, buried in her vault, Dec. 8.
1614	Isaac Casaubon buried. Lady C. St. John buried. (Monu- ment.)
1615	Arthur Agarde buried, Aug. 24. Arabella Stuart buried, Sept. 27.
1616	Beaumont buried. Bilson buried.
1617	Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, buried. <i>R. Tounson, Dean.</i>
1618	Sir George Fane buried. Sir W. Raleigh imprisoned in Gatehouse, Oct. 29. Sir W. Raleigh buried in St. Margaret's, Oct. 30.
1619	Sir Christopher Hatton buried. Monument erected to Spenser. Burial of Anne of Denmark, May 13.
1620	<i>John Williams, Dean.</i>
1621	Bishop Tounson buried. Lawrence the servant buried.
1622	Francis Holles died.

A.D.	
1622	Thomas Cecil, Earl of Exeter, buried.
1623	Camden buried, Nov. 10.
1624	Lewis Stuart, Duke of Lennox and Richmond, Feb. 17. Entertainment of the French Ambassadors in the Jerusalem Chamber, Dec. 15. Their attendance at the dinner in the College Hall.
1625	Burial of James I., May 5.
1626	Coronation of Charles I., Feb. 2. Sir Geo. Holles buried.
1627	Charles, Marquis of Bucking- ham, Earl of Coventry, buried, March 16. Philip Fielding buried, June 11.
1628	George Villiers, Duke of Buck- ingham, Sept. 28.
1629	Lady Jane Clifford buried. Infant Prince Charles, May 13.
1631	Sir James Fullerton buried, Jan. 3. Michael Drayton buried.
1632	Countess of Buckingham buried, April 21.
1633	Monument to Geo. Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, completed.
1635	Sir Thomas Richardson buried. Wife of Casaubon buried. Thomas Parr buried.
1637	Lilly's Search for Treasure in the Cloisters. Imprisonment of Williams. Ben Jonson buried.
1638	Marchioness of Hamilton buried. Sir Robert Ayton buried, Feb. 28.
1639	Jane Crewe, Heiress of the Pul- teney, buried. Archbishop Spottiswoode buried, Nov. 29. Duchess of Richmond buried.
1640	Williams released. Convocation, April 17-May 29, in Henry VII.'s Chapel. Conference in Jerusalem Cham- ber. Attack on the Abbey.
1641	Sir Henry Spelman buried, Oct. 24. Williams raised to the See of York. Meeting of Bishops in the Jeru- salem Chamber. Williams's second imprisonment.
1642	Regalia taken from the Abbey and broken in pieces. Williams's second release. Lord Hervey buried.
1643	Assembly of Divines opened, July 6. Pym buried, Dec. 13.

A.D.
 1644 *R. Stewart, Dean.*
 Theodore Paleologus buried, May 3.
 Col. Meldrum buried.
 1645 Col. Boscawen and Col. Carter buried.
 Cranfield, Lord Middlesex, buried.
 Grace Scot buried.
 Commissioners appointed by Parliament, Nov. 18.
 1646 Twiss buried, July 24.
 Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, buried, Oct. 22.
 1648 Francis Villiers, youngest Son of Duke of Buckingham, buried, July 10.
 1649 Assembly of Divines closed, Feb. 22.
 Isaac Dorislaus buried, June 14.
 Thomas Cary buried.
 1650 Thomas May buried.
 George Wild buried, June 21.
 1651 Ireton buried, Feb. 6.
 Col. Popham buried, Aug.
 Thomas Haselrig buried, Oct. 30.
 Humphrey Salwey buried, Dec. 20.
 1653 Col. Deane buried, June 24.
 1654 Strong buried, July 4.
 Col. Mackworth buried, Dec. 26.
 Elizabeth Cromwell buried.
 1655 Sir William Constable buried, June 21.
 Marshall buried, Nov. 23.
 1656 Archbishop Ussher buried, April 17.
 Jane Disbrowe buried.
 1657 Cromwell installed on the Stone of Scone in Westminster Hall, June 26.
 Blake buried.
 1658 Denis Bond buried.
 Elizabeth Claypole buried, Aug. 10.
 Burial of Cromwell, Sept. 26.
 1659 Bradshaw buried.
 1660 *Earles, Dean.*
 Henry, Duke of Gloucester, buried, Sept. 13.
 Thomas Blagg buried.
 Confirmation of Election of Sheldon, Bishop of London; Saunderson, of Lincoln; Morley, of Worcester; Henchman, of Salisbury; and Griffith, of St. Asaph, Oct. 28.
 Consecration of Lucy, Bishop of St. David's; Lloyd, of Llandaff; Gauden, of Exeter; Sterne, of Carlisle; Cosin, of Durham; Walton, of Chester; and Lancy, of Peterborough, Dec. 2.

A.D.
 1660 Mary of Orange buried, Dec. 29.
 1661 Consecration of Ironside, Bishop of Bristol; Reynolds, of Norwich; Monk, of Hereford; Nicholson, of Gloucester, Jan. 6.
 Disinterment of Regicides, Jan. 29.
 Coronation of Charles II., April 23.
 Convocation in Henry VII.'s Chapel, May 16–Oct. 20.
 Thomas Smith buried.
 Mother of Clarendon buried.
 Disinterment of Magnates of the Commonwealth, Sept. 12.
 Consecration of Fairfoul, Bishop of Glasgow; Hamilton, of Galloway; Leighton, of Dunblane; Sharpe, of St. Andrews, Dec. 15.
 Bishop Nicholas Monk buried, Dec. 20.
 Heart of Esme Lennox buried.
 1662 Elizabeth of Bohemia buried, Feb. 17,
 Upper House of Convocation in Jerusalem Chamber, Feb. 22.
 Ferne, Bishop of Chester, buried, March 25.
 Duppa, Bishop of Winchester, buried, April 24.
 Henry Lawes buried, Oct. 25.
 Consecration of Earles, Bishop of Worcester, Nov. 30.
 1663 *John Dolben, Dean.*
 Paul Thorndyke and Duall Pead christened, April 18.
 Robert South, Prebendary and Archdeacon.
 Consecration of Barrow, Bishop of Sodor and Man, July 5.
 1664 Consecration of Rainbow, Bishop of Carlisle, July 10.
 1665 School removed to Chiswick on account of the plague.
 Earl of Marlborough buried.
 Lords Muskerry and Falmouth buried.
 Sir E. Broughton buried.
 1666 T. Chiffinch buried, April 10.
 Sir Robert Stapleton buried, July 15.
 Berkeley buried.
 1667 William Johnson buried, March 12.
 Abraham Cowley buried, Aug. 3.
 1668 William Davenant buried, April 9.
 John Thorndyke.
 1669 John Denham buried.

A.D.

- 1670 Monk's Wife, Duchess of Albe-
marle, buried, Feb. 28.
Monk, Duke of Albemarle, buried,
April 29.
Marriage of Sir S. Morland with
Carola Harsnett.
Triplett buried.
- 1671 Anne Hyde, Duchess of York,
buried, April 5.
- 1672 Harbord and Cotterill died.
Consecration of Carleton, Bishop
of Bristol, Feb. 11.
Montague, Earl of Sandwich,
buried, July 3.
Herbert Thorndyke buried, July
13.
- 1673 Sir R. Moray buried, July 6.
Hamilton, Le Neve, Spragge,
died.
- 1674 Earl of Doncaster buried, Feb.
10.
Carola Morland buried.
Margaret Lucas, Duchess of
Newcastle, buried, Jan. 7.
- 1675 Earl of Clarendon buried, Jan. 4.
- 1676 Sanderson buried, July 18.
Christopher Gibbons buried, Oct.
24.
- 1677 William Cavendish, Duke of
Newcastle, buried, Jan. 22.
Isaac Barrow buried, May 7.
- 1678 Transference of the York Princes
from the Tower.
Sir E. Berry Godfrey died.
- 1679 Diana Temple buried, March 27.
- 1680 Anne Morland buried, Feb. 24.
Sir Palmes Fairborne died.
Earl of Plymouth buried.
Earl of Ossory buried, July 30.
- 1682 Thomas Thynne buried.
Prince Rupert buried, Dec. 26.
- 1683 *Sprat, Dean.*
- 1684 Lord Roscommon buried, Jan.
24.
Duchess of Ormonde buried, July
24.
- 1685 Burial of Charles II., Feb. 14.
Coronation of James II., April
23.
Confessor's Coffin opened.
- 1687 George Villiers, second Duke of
Buckingham, buried, June 7.
- 1688 Nicholas Bagnall buried, March
9.
Reading of the Declaration of
Indulgence by Sprat, May 20.
James Butler, Duke of Ormonde,
buried, Aug. 4.
Jane Lister buried, Oct. 7.
Sermon by South, Nov. 5.
- 1689 Coronation of William and Mary,
April 11.

A.D.

- 1689 First Chair for the Queen's Con-
sort.
Aphara Behn buried in East
Cloister, April 20.
Commission for the Revision of
the Liturgy in the Jerusalem
Chamber, Oct. 3-Nov. 18.
Convocation, Nov. 20-Dec. 14.
- 1692 Shadwell died.
Sarah, Duchess of Somerset,
buried.
- 1694 Lady Temple buried.
Fire in the Cloisters and burning
of MSS. in Williams's Library.
- 1695 Burial of Mary, March 5.
Wharton buried, March 11.
Busby buried, April 5.
George Saville, Marquis of Hali-
fax, buried, April 11.
Purcell buried, Nov. 26.
Sir Thomas Duppa died.
Knipe, Head-Master.
- 1697 Horneck buried, Feb. 4.
Grace Gethin buried.
- 1699 Sir William Temple buried.
- 1700 John Dryden buried, May 13.
William, Duke of Gloucester,
buried, Aug. 9.
- 1701 Sir Joseph Williamson buried,
Oct. 14.
- 1702 Burial of William III., April 12.
Coronation of Anne, April 23.
Convocation, Feb. 12-June 6.
Duchess of Richmond buried,
Oct. 22.
- 1703 St. Evremond buried, Sept. 11.
Mourning of the Duchess of
Marlborough for her son.
- 1704 Major Creed died.
Tom Brown buried in East Clois-
ter.
- 1706 Colonel Bingfield died.
- 1707 Admiral Delaval buried, Jan.
23.
General Killigrew died.
George Stepney buried, Sept. 22.
Sir Cloudeley Shovel buried,
Dec. 22.
- 1708 Consecration of Dawes, Bishop
of Chester, Feb. 8.
Josiah Twysden buried.
Methuen buried.
Blow buried, Oct. 8.
Prince George of Denmark
buried, Nov. 13.
- 1709 Heneage Twysden died.
Bentinck, Duke of Portland,
buried.
- 1710 Betterton buried, May 2.
Admiral Churchill buried, May
12.
Spanheim buried.

A.D.		A.D.	
1710	Mary Kendall buried. John Phillips died.	1727	Sir Isaac Newton buried, March 28. Croft buried, Aug. 23. Coronation of George II. and Queen Caroline, Oct. 11.
1711	Grabe died. Carteret buried. Knipe buried. Freind, Head-Master. John Holles, Duke of Newcastle, buried, Aug. 9.	1728	Chamberlen died. Freind died. Woodward buried, May.
1712	Lord Godolphin buried, Oct. 8.	1729	Congreve buried, Jan. 26. Withers buried.
1713	Lady A. C. Bagnall buried, March 13. Dean Sprat buried. <i>Atterbury, Dean.</i> Tompion buried.	1730	Occupation of the Dormitory. Anne Oldfield buried, Oct. 27. Duke of Cleveland and Southampton buried, Nov. 3.
1714	Burial of Queen Anne, Aug. 24. Coronation of George I., Oct. 20.	1731	Disney buried. Dean Bradford buried. Lady Elizabeth Nightingale buried. <i>Joseph Wilcocks, Dean.</i> Fire in the Cloisters, Documents removed to Chapter House.
1715	Charles Montague, Earl of Halifax, buried, May 26. Great Bell of Westminster purchased for St. Paul's.	1732	Atterbury buried, May 12. Sir Thomas Hardy buried, Aug. 24. Monument to Samuel Butler erected. John Gay buried, Dec. 23. Nicolls, Head-Master.
1716	Baker died. South buried, July 16.	1733	Henrietta, Duchess of Marlborough, buried. Wetenall died.
1717	John Twysden died. Convocation prorogued.	1736	Edmund Sheffield, Duke of Buckinghamshire, buried, Jan. 31.
1718	Sir J. Chardin died. Nicholas Rowe buried, Dec. 14. Mrs. Steele buried, Dec. 30.	1737	Conduitt buried, May 29. Monument to Milton erected. Burial of Queen Caroline of Anspach, Dec. 27.
1719	Joseph Addison buried, June 26. Duke of Schomberg, Aug. 4. Almeric de Courcy buried.	1738	Building of Westminster Bridge.
1720	Lady Hardy buried, May 3. Monument to Monk erected. William Longueville buried. James, first Earl of Stanhope, died. De Castro buried.	1739	Western Towers finished.
1721	James Craggs buried, March 2. Sheffield, Duke of Buckinghamshire, buried, March 25. Thomas Sprat, Archdeacon of Rochester, buried. Matthew Prior, Sept. 21.	1740	Transference of the Remains of Duras, Earl of Feversham, Armand de Bourbon, and Charlotte de Bourbon, to the Abbey, March 21. Ephraim Chambers buried, May 21. Lord Aubrey Beauclerk died. Monument erected to Shakspeare.
1722	First Stone of New Dormitory laid. Duke of Marlborough buried, Aug. 9. Arrest of Atterbury, Aug. 22.	1742	Boulter, Archbishop of Armagh, buried.
1723	Monument to John Holles, Duke of Newcastle. Lord Cornbury buried. Charles Lennox, son of the Duchess of Portsmouth, buried, June 7. Exile of Atterbury, June 18. <i>Samuel Bradford, Dean.</i> Monument to Bishop Nicholas Monk. Sir Godfrey Kneller died.	1743	Captain Cornwall died. Wager died. Catherine, Duchess of Buckinghamshire, buried, April 8. John Campbell, Duke of Argyll and Greenwich, Oct. 15.
1725	Establishment of the Order of the Bath.	1744	Balchen died.
		1746	William Horneck buried, April 27. Cowper entered Westminster School.

A.D.		A.D.	
1747	General Guest buried, Oct. 16. Warren Hastings and Elijah Impey admitted into Westminster College. Saumarez died.	1772	Steigerr buried, Dec. 28.
1748	Marshal Wade buried, March 21. Isaac Watts died. Anne Bracegirdle buried, Sept. 8.	1774	Goldsmith died.
1750	Removal of the Sanctuary.	1775	General Lawrence died.
1751	General Hargrave buried, Feb. 2. General Fleming buried, March 30. Graham buried, Nov. 23. Vernon died.	1776	Courayer buried. Elizabeth Percy, Duchess of Northumberland, Dec. 8. Roberts, Secretary to Pelham, died.
1752	Warren died.	1777	Barry buried, Jan. 20. Wragg died. Gatehouse taken down. Roote buried, Nov. 3.
1753	The Green in Dean's Yard laid out. Markham, Head-Master.	1778	William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, buried, June 9. Restoration of Spenser's Monument. Erection of Wolfe's Monument.
1754	Monument to Lady Walpole erected.	1779	Garrick buried, Feb. 1.
1756	Vertue buried. Dean Wilcocks buried. <i>Zachary Pearce, Dean.</i>	1780	Restoration of Camden's Monument.
1757	Colonel Townsend died. Temple West died. Admiral Watson died.	1781	Lady Charlotte Percy, last torch-light Funeral not royal.
1758	Viscount Howe died. W. Nightingale buried. Monument to Lady E. Nightingale erected. Removal of Old Dormitory and Brewhouse.	1782	Captains Bayn and Blair, and Lord B. Manners, died. (Monument.) William Dalrymple died. Pringle died. Admiral Kempenfelt died.
1759	General Wolfe died. Handel buried, April 20.	1783	Sir Eyre Coote died. Admiral Storr died. Lady Delaval buried
1760	Celebration of the Bicentenary of Westminster School, June 2. Burial of George II., Nov. 11.	1784	Handel Festival, May 26—June 5. Johnson buried, Dec. 20.
1761	Coronation of George III. and Queen Charlotte, Sept. 22. Hales died. Holmes died.	1785	John Henderson buried, Dec. 9.
1762	Monument erected to Thomson.	1786	Jonas Hanway died. Taylor died.
1764	Pulteney, Earl of Bath, buried, July 17.	1789	Broughton buried. Gideon Loten died. Sir John Hawkins buried, Jan. 28.
1765	William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, buried, Nov. 10.	1790	Monument to Martin Ffolkes erected. Duke of Cumberland buried, Sept. 28.
1766	Susanna Maria Cibber buried. Admiral Tyrrell died.	1791	Oak taken down in Dean's Yard. Admiral Harrison buried, Oct. 26.
1767	Widow of the Duke of Argyll and Greenwich buried, April 3. Duke of York buried, Nov. 3.	1792	Sir John Burgoyne buried, Aug. 13.
1768	Dean Pearce retires. Bonnell Thornton buried. Hannah Prichard died.	1793	Lord Mansfield buried, March 28. Cooke buried, Sept. 1. <i>Samuel Horsley, Dean.</i>
1770	Lord Ligonier buried.	1784	Winteringham died. Captains Harvey, Hutt, and Montagu, died June 1.
1771	George Montague, Earl of Halifax, buried. Opening of the Tomb of Edward I. Gray died.	1795	Alexander Duroure buried.
1772	Bust of Booth erected.	1796	Macpherson buried, March 15. Chambers buried, March 18.
		1797	Mason died.
		1799	Lady Kerry buried. Captain Cook died.

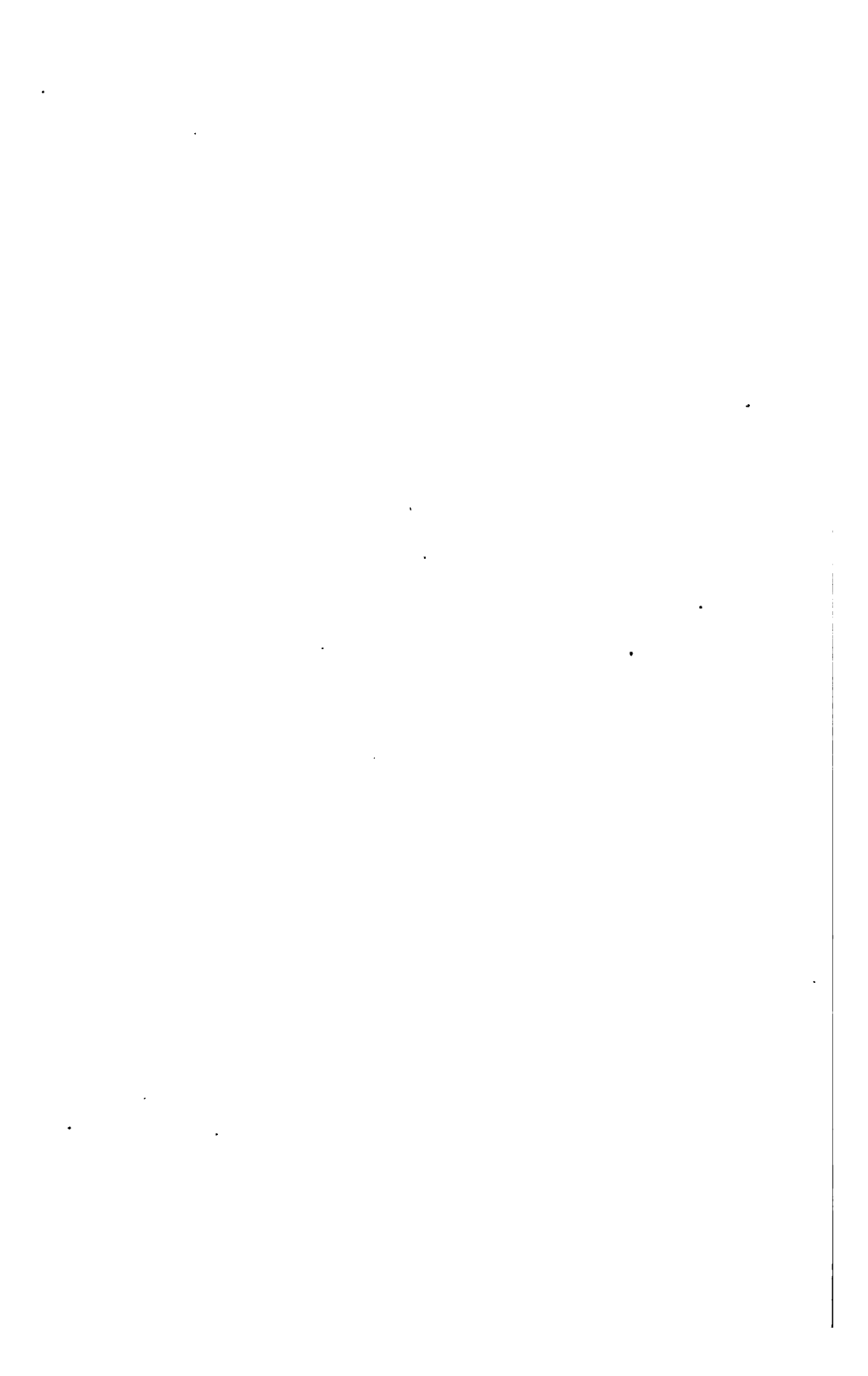
A.D.		A.D.	
1800	Warren, Bishop of Bangor, buried. M. E. Bowes, Countess of Strathmore, buried, May 10. Lady Tyroconnell buried. Totty died.	1826	Sir Stamford Raffles died.
1801	Sir George Staunton buried, Jan. 23.	1827	Giffard buried, Jan. 8. George Canning buried, Aug. 16.
1802	Arnold buried, Oct. 29. <i>William Vincent, Dean.</i> See of Rochester parted from the Deanery.	1829	Davy died. Young died. Fire in the Triforium.
1805	Dr. Buchan buried. Banks died. Christopher Anstey died.	1830	Tierney died. Bennell buried, April 6.
1806	William Pitt buried, Feb. 22. Charles Fox buried, Oct. 10.	1831	Coronation of William IV. and Queen Adelaide, Sept. 8. Mrs. Siddons died.
1807	Admiral Delaval buried, Jan. 27. Antony, Duke of Montpensier, buried, May 26. Markham, Archbishop, buried, Nov. 11. Bust of Paoli erected.	1832	Andrew Bell buried. Mackintosh died.
1808	Lord Delaval buried. Monument to Addison erected.	1833	Sir John Malcolm died. Wilberforce buried, Aug. 3.
1809	Agar, Lord Normanton, buried.	1834	Telford buried, Sept. 10.
1810	Louise de Savoie buried, Nov. 26.	1838	Zachary Macaulay died. Coronation of Queen Victoria, June 28.
1811	" removed to Sardinia, March 5. Richard Cumberland buried, May 14. Lady Mary Coke, daughter of the Duke of Argyll and Greenwich, buried. Captain Stewart died.	1840	Lord Holland died.
1812	Perceval died. Last Installation of Knights of the Bath in the Abbey.	1842	Dean Ireland buried, Sept. 8. <i>Thomas Turton, Dean.</i> Consecration of five Colonial Bishops, May 24.
1813	Granville Sharpe died. Wyatt buried, Sept. 28.	1843	Southey died.
1814	E. H. Delaval buried. Burney died.	1844	Campbell buried, July 3. Henry Cary buried, Aug. 21.
1815	Dean Vincent buried, Dec. 29.	1845	Sir Fowell Buxton died. <i>Samuel Wilberforce, Dean.</i> Sir William Follett died. <i>William Buckland, Dean.</i>
1816	Lord Kerry buried. <i>John Ireland, Dean.</i> Lord Minto buried, Jan. 29. Sheridan buried, July 13.	1847	Consecration of three Australian Bishops, and of R. Gray, Bishop of Cape Town.
1817	Horner died.	1848	Charles Buller died.
1819	James Watt died. Bust of Warren Hastings erected.	1849	Sir R. Wilson buried, May 15.
1820	Grattan buried, June 16.	1850	Consecration of Fulford, Bishop of Montreal. Wordsworth died. Peel died.
1821	Coronation of George IV., July 19. Major André buried, Nov. 28.	1852	Transference of the Remains of Lyndwood to the Abbey, March 6. Convocation revived, Nov. 12.
1822	Lord Castlereagh buried, Aug. 20. Eva Maria Garrick buried, Oct. 25.	1856	Bishop Monk buried, June 14. <i>R. C. Trench, Dean.</i>
1823	John Philip Kemble died. Baillie died.	1858	Consecration of G. L. Cotton, Bishop of Calcutta.
1824	Restoration of Altar Screen by Bernascon.	1859	Transference of the Remains of John Hunter to the Abbey, March 28. Consecration of Bishops of Columbia, Brisbane, and St. Helena, and of the Bishop of Bangor. Stephenson buried, Oct. 21.
		1860	Lord Macaulay buried, Jan. 9. Sir Charles Barry buried, May 22. Lord Dundonald buried, Nov. 14. Celebration of Tercentenary of Westminster School, Nov. 17.

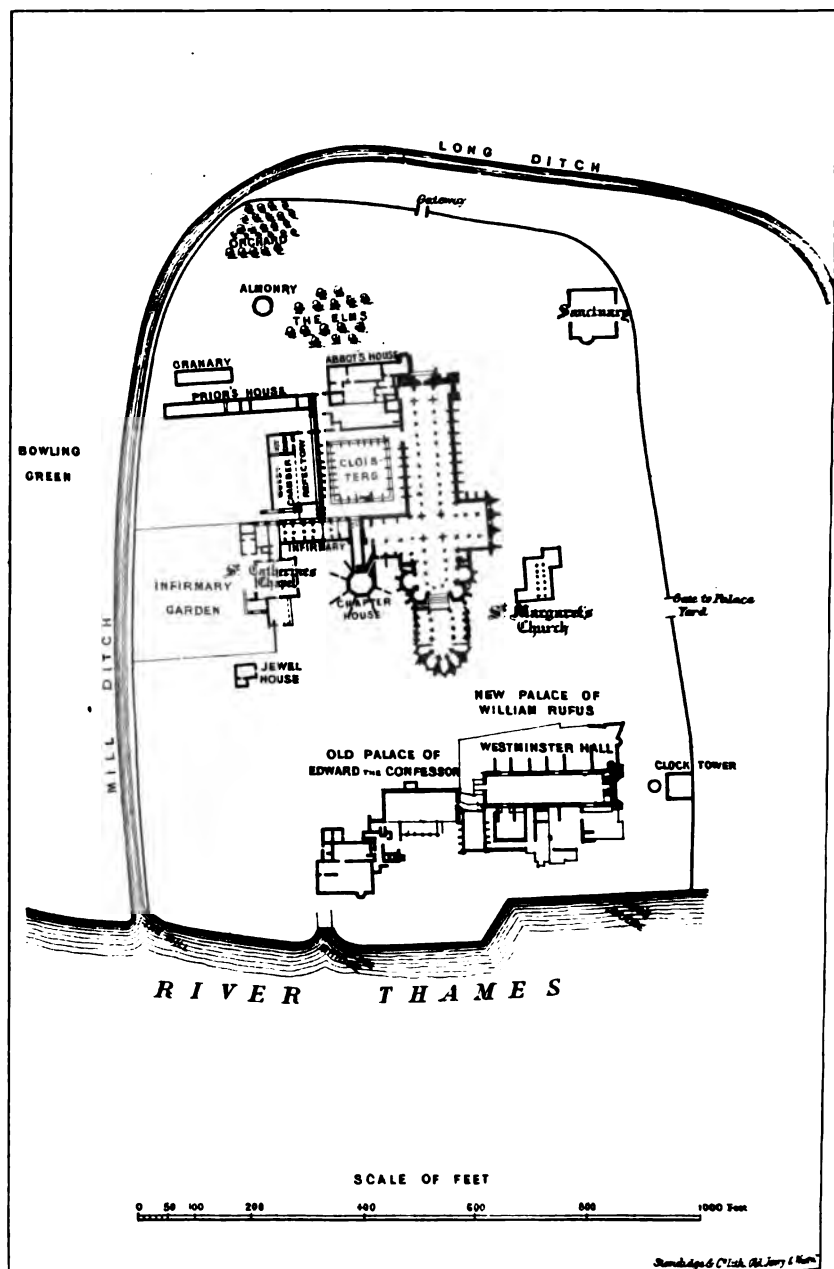
A.D.		A.D.	
1862	Elizabeth Woodfall buried.	1869	Charles Dickens buried.
	Karl Canning buried, June 21.	1870	Entertainment of Archbishop of Syria, Jan. 25.
1863	Sir Jas. Outram buried, Mar. 25.	1871	Sir John Herschel buried.
	Lord Clyde buried, Aug. 22.		George Grote buried.
	Sir G. Cornewall Lewis died.		Revision of Authorised Version—Communion in Henry VII.'s Chapel.
	Thackeray died.	1872	Sir George Pollock buried.
	Consecration of First Missionary Bishop to Central Africa, Orange River State.	1873	Lord Lytton buried.
1864	<i>Arthur P. Stanley, Dean.</i>		Funeral Service for Bishop Macilwaine.
	Consecration of the Bishop of Ely.		Visit of the Shah.
	Acts of Parliament removed from the Parliament Office to the Victoria Tower.	1874	David Livingstone buried.
1865	Lord Palmerston buried, Oct. 27.		Visit of the Emperor of Russia.
	Celebration of 800th anniversary of the Foundation of the Abbey, December 28.	1875	Burials of Sir Sterndale Bennett, Sir Charles Lyell, and Bishop Thirlwall.
1866	Restoration of Chapter House undertaken.	1876	Burial of Lady Augusta Stanley
1867	Monument to Cobden.	1877	Caxton Celebration, June 2.
	Restoration of Altar Screen in Marble.		Consecration of Dr. Thorold as Bishop of Rochester, July 25.
	Royal Commission on Ritual in Jerusalem Chamber.		Consecration of Bishops of Rangoon and Lahore; and Suffragan Bishop of Nottingham, Dec. 21.
1868	Consecration of the Bishop of Hereford.	1878	Funeral of Sir Gilbert Scott, April 6.
1869	Discovery of Grave of James I.	1879	Consecration of Dr. Lightfoot as Bishop of Durham, by Archbishop of York, April 25.
	Consecration of the Bishops of Lincoln, Grafton and Armidale, and Mauritius, Feb. 24.		Funeral of Lord Lawrence, July 5.
	Consecration of the Bishops of Auckland, Bathurst, and Labuan, June 29.		Funeral of Sir Rowland Hill, Sept. 4.
1869	Consecration of the Bishop of Montreal, Aug. 1.	1881	Jubilee Service for King's College, London, June 21.
	Consecration of the Bishop of Salisbury, Oct. 28.		Funeral of Lord Hatherley, July 15.
	Funeral of Geo. Peabody, Nov. 12.		Death (July 18) and Funeral of Dean Stanley, July 25.
	Consecration of the Bishop of Exeter, Dec. 21.		<i>G. Granville Bradley, Dean</i> , installed November 1.
	Consecration of the Bishop of Oxford.		Funeral of G. E. S rest, December 29.

GENERAL DIMENSIONS OF THE ABBEY CHURCH.

<i>Interior.</i>		<i>Exterior.</i>	
	Feet In.		Feet In.
Length of the <i>Nave</i> . . .	166 0	Extreme length of the Abbey	423 6
Breadth of ditto . . .	38 7	Ditto, including Henry VII.'s	
Height of ditto . . .	101 8	Chapel	530 0
Breadth of the Aisles . . .	16 7	Height of the western towers	
Extreme breadth of the Nave		to the top of the pinnacles	225 4
and Aisles	71 9	Height of Nave and Transept	
Length of the <i>Choir</i> . . .	155 9	roofs	138 3
Extreme breadth of ditto . .	38 4	Height of lantern . . .	151 0
Height of ditto	101 2	Height of north front, includ-	
Extreme length from north to		ing pinnacle	166 0
south of the <i>Transepts</i> and			
Choir	203 2	Henry VII.'s Chapel :—	
Length of each Transept . .	82 5	Interior, length . . .	104 6
Entire breadth of ditto, includ-		Exterior „ . . .	106 6
ing Aisles	84 8	Interior, breadth . . .	69 10
Extreme length from the west		Exterior „ . . .	82 0
door to the piers of Henry		Interior, height . . .	61 5
VII.'s Chapel	403 0	Exterior „ . . .	82 0
Ditto, including Henry VII.'s			
Chapel	511 6		

Dimensions of the Isle of Thorns, 470 yards long, 370 yards broad.





WESTMINSTER ABBEY & ITS PRECINCT.
ABOUT A.D. 1535

CHAPTER I.

THE FOUNDATION OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

THE devout King destined to God that place, both for that it was near unto the famous and wealthy city of London, and also had a pleasant situation amongst fruitful fields lying round about it, with the principal river running hard by, bringing in from all parts of the world great variety of wares and merchandise

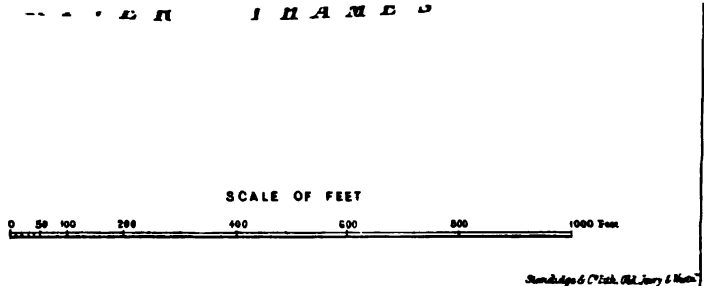
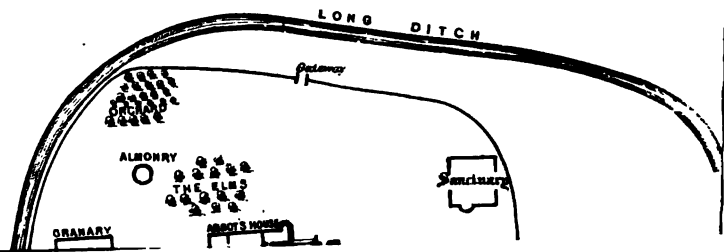
Erratum

Page 89, foot-note ¹, for Earl of Derby read Duke of Atholl.

It was the Duke of Atholl's falconer who presented the falcons at George IV.'s coronation; the Atholls having succeeded the Derbys in the Lordship of the Isle of Man about 1730.

Stanley's Westminster Abbey.

- (c) *Original MS.* Latin poem, dedicated to Henry VI., probably between A.D. 1440-1460.
- (c) *Vatican and Caius Coll. MSS.*, probably in the thirteenth century. All these are founded on Ailred.
- (d) *Harleian MS.*, A.D. 1066-1074 (almost contemporary).
- (e) The charters of the Saxon Kings. (For the suspicions attaching to them, see *Archæological Journal*, No. 114, pp. 139-140.)



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SPECIAL AUTHORITIES.

THE special authorities for the physical peculiarities of Westminster are:—

1. Smith's *Antiquities of Westminster*. London. 1807.
2. Saunders's *Situation and Extent of Westminster*, in *Archeologia*, vol. xxvi. pp. 223-241.
3. Dean Buckland's Sermon (1847) on the reopening of Westminster Abbey, with a Geological Appendix.
4. *History of St. Margaret's, Westminster*, by the Rev. Mackenzie E. C. Walcott.

For Edward the Confessor:—

1. Life by Ailred, Abbot of Rievaulx, A.D. 1163, derived chiefly from an earlier Life by Osbert, or Osbern of Clare, Prior of Westminster, A.D. 1158.
2. The Four Lives published by Mr. Luard, in the Collection of the Master of the Rolls:—
 - (a) *Cambridge MS.* French poem, dedicated to Eleanor, Queen of Henry III., probably about A.D. 1245.
 - (b) *Oxford MS.* Latin poem, dedicated to Henry VI., probably between A.D. 1440-1450.
 - (c) *Vatican and Caius Coll. MSS.*, probably in the thirteenth century. All these are founded on Ailred.
 - (d) *Harleian MS.*, A.D. 1066-1074 (almost contemporary).
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CHAPTER I.

THE FOUNDATION OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

It is said that the line in Heber's 'Palestine' which describes the rise of Solomon's temple originally ran—

Like the green grass, the noiseless fabric grew ;

and that, at Sir Walter Scott's suggestion, it was altered to its present form—

Like some tall palm, the noiseless fabric sprung.

Whether we adopt the humbler or the grander image, the comparison of the growth of a fine building to that of a natural product is full of instruction. But the growth of an historical edifice like Westminster Abbey needs a more complex figure to do justice to its formation : a venerable oak, with gnarled and hollow trunk, and spreading roots, and decaying bark, and twisted branches, and green shoots ; or a coral reef extending itself with constantly new accretions, creek after creek, and islet after islet. One after another, a fresh nucleus of life is formed, a new combination produced, a larger ramification thrown out. In this respect Westminster Abbey stands alone amongst the buildings of the world. There are, it may be, some which surpass it in beauty or grandeur ; there are others, certainly, which surpass it in depth and sublimity of association ; but there is none which has been entwined by so many continuous threads with the history of a whole nation.

I. The first origin of Westminster is to be sought in the natural features of its position, which include the origin of London no less. Foremost of these is what to Londoners and Englishmen is, in a deeper and truer sense

Physical
features of
London.

than was intended by Gray when he used the phrase, our 'Father Thames:' the river Thames, the largest river ^{The Thames.} in England, here widening to an almost majestic size, yet not too wide for thoroughfare—the direct communication between London and the sea on the one hand, between London and the interior on the other. When roads were bad, when robbers were many, when the forests were still thick, then, far more than now, the Thames was the chief highway of English life, the chief inlet and outlet of English commerce. Here, from the earliest times, the coracles of the British tribes, the galleys of the Roman armies, were moored, and gave to the place the most probable origin of its name—the 'City of Ships.'

The Thames is the parent of London. The chief river of England has, by a natural consequence, secured for its chief city that supremacy over all the other towns which have at various times claimed to be the seats of sovereignty in England—York, Canterbury, and Winchester. The old historic stream, which gathered on the banks of its upper course Oxford, Eton, Windsor, and Richmond, had already, before the first beginning of those ancient seats of learning and of regal luxury, become, on these its lower banks, the home ¹ of England's commerce and of England's power.

Above the river rose a long range of hills, covered with a vast forest, full of wild deer, wild bulls, and wild boars,² of which the highest points were Hampstead and High-^{The hills} gate. A desolate moor or fen, marked still by the ^{and streams.} names of *Finsbury*, *Fenchurch*, and *Moorfields*, which in winter was covered with water and often frozen, occupied the plateau immediately north of the city. As the slope of the hills descended steeply on the *strand* of the river, slight eminences, of stiff clay, broke the ground still more perceptibly. Tower Hill, Corn Hill, and Ludgate Hill remind us that the old London, like all capitals, took advantage of whatever strength was afforded by natural situation: and therefore as we go up to Cornhill, the traditional seat of British chiefs and Roman governors, as we feel the ground swelling under our feet when we begin the ascent from Fleet Street to St. Paul's, or as we see the eminence on which stands the Tower of London, the oldest fortress of our Norman kings, we have before us the

¹ Londinium . . . copiâ negotiatorum et comæatuum maxime celebre. (Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 33.)

² Fitzstephen. *Vita S. Thomæ.* Descriptio nobilissimæ civitatis Londoniæ.

reasons which have fixed what is properly called the 'city' of London on its present site.

And yet again, whilst the first dwellers of the land were thus entrenched on their heights by the riverside, they were at once protected and refreshed by the clear swift rivulets descending from the higher hills through the winding valleys that intersected the earthen bulwarks on which the old fastnesses stood. These streams still survive in the depths of the sewers into which they are absorbed, and in the streets to which they give their names. On the eastern¹ side the Long stream (*Langborne*) of 'sweet water' flowed from the fens (of Fen-church), and then broke into the 'shares or small rills' of *Shareborne* and *Southborne*, by which it reached the Thames. By St. Stephen's *Walbrook*, probably forming the western boundary of the Roman fortress of London,² there flows the Brook of London Wall—the Wall Brook, which, when swelled by winter floods, rushed with such violence down its gully that, even in the time of Stow, a young man was swept away by it.³ Holborn Hill takes its name from the *Old Bourne*,⁴ or Holebourne, which, rising in High Holborn, ran down that steep declivity, and turned the mills at Turnmill (or Turnbull) Street, at the bottom: the River of Wells, as it was sometimes called, from those once consecrated springs which now lie choked and buried in Clerken Well, and Holy Well, and St. Clement's Well—the scene in the Middle Ages of many a sacred and festive pageant which gathered round their green margins. Fleet Ditch and Fleet Street mark the shallow bed of the 'Fleet'⁵ as it creeps down from the breezy slopes of Hampstead. The rivulet of Ulebrig crossed the Strand under the 'Ivy Bridge,'⁶ on its way to the Thames.

Such are the main natural features of London. In recalling them from the graves in which they are now entombed,

¹ *Arch.* xxxiii. 110.

² *Ibid.* xxxiii. 104.

³ *Ibid.* xxxiii. 104. Stow's *Survey*.
Account of Downe Gate.

⁴ If 'Old Bourne,' as it appears in Stow (see also Hayward's *Edward VI.*, pp. 96, 97), the aspirate has been added as a London vulgarism. If 'Hole-bourne,' as it appears in earlier documents, it is probably derived from flowing in a hollow. See Letter in the *Times*, Aug. 17, 1868.

⁵ In a petition to the Parliament at Carlisle, in 35 Edward I. (*Rot. Parl.* i.

p. 200, No. 59), the Earl of Lincoln stated that in old times ten or twelve ships used often to come up to Fleet Bridge with merchandise, and some even to Holborn Bridge, to scour the watercourse. It has been suggested to me that the word 'Fleet,' as a local designation, does not mean 'swift,' but 'shallow,' or 'flat.' In East Anglia it is always so used by the common people, as a 'fleet plate,' and so of meadows and fords in the fen country, where a rapid stream is unknown.

⁶ *Arch.* xxvi. 227.

there is something affecting in the thought that, after all, we are not so far removed from our mother earth as we might have supposed. There is a quaint humour in the fact that the great arteries of our crowded streets, the vast sewers which cleanse our habitations, are fed by the lifeblood of those old and living streams; that underneath our tread the Tyburn, and the Holborn, and the Fleet, and the Wall Brook, are still pursuing their ceaseless course, still ministering to the good of man, though in a far different fashion than when Druids drank of their sacred springs, and Saxons were baptized in their rushing waters, ages ago.

Thus much has been necessary to state respecting the origin of London, because without a general view of so near and great a neighbour it is impossible to understand the position of our own home of Westminster.

Here too the mighty river plays an important part, but with an auxiliary which was wanting in the eastern sweep which has cradled the hills of London. Those steep stiff banks of London clay forbade any intrusion of the ^{The Island of Thorns.} Thames beyond his natural shores; but both above and below that point the level ground enabled the river to divide his stream, and embrace within his course numerous islands and islets. Below, we still find the Isle of Dogs and the Isle of Sheep. Above, in like manner, the waters spread irregularly over a long low flat, and enclosed a mass of gravel deposit forming a small island or peninsula. The influx and reflux of the tide, which lower down was said even to have undermined the river walls of the fortress of London,¹ rushed, it was believed, through what once was Flood Street; and some of our chroniclers fix the scene of Canute's rebuke to his courtiers 'on the banks of the Thames as it ran by the Palace of Westminster at flowing tide, and the waves cast forth some part of their water towards him, and came up to his thighs.'² On the north-east a stream came up by the street thence called Channel (afterwards corrupted into Canon³) Row, through Gardiner's Lane, which was crossed by a bridge as late as the seventeenth century.⁴ On the north this channel spread out

¹ Fitzstephen (as above). See *Arch.* xxxiii. 116. In the memory of man the vaults of the Treasury buildings were flooded.

² Fabian, p. 229. Knyghton, c. 2325.

³ From its being the residence of the canons of St. Stephen's Chapel.

⁴ The statement of Maitland (*History of London*, p. 730) and Dart (ii. 28), that the first bridge over this

into a low marshy creek, now the lake in St. James's Park; and the steepness of the sides of the islet is indicated by the stairs descending into the Park from Duke Street Chapel. At the point where Great George Street enters Birdcage Walk by Storey's Gate, there was a narrow isthmus which connected the island with a similar bed of gravel, reaching under Buckingham Palace to Hyde Park.¹ Then through Prince's Street (formerly, from this stream, called Long Ditch),² another channel began, and continued through Dean Street and College Street, till it fell again into the Thames by Millbank Street, where, in later days, the Abbot's Mill stood on the banks of the stream. The watery waste, which on the south spread over Lambeth and Southwark, on the north was fed by one of those streams which have been already noticed. There descended from Hampstead in a torrent, which has scattered its name right and left along its course, the brook of the Aye or Eye,³ so called probably from the Eye (or Island) of which it formed the eastern boundary, and afterwards familiarly corrupted into the *Aye Bourn*, *T'Aye Bourn*, *Tybourn*.⁴ It is recognised first by the Chapel of St. Mary on its banks, *Mary-le-bourne* (now corrupted into Marylebone)—then by 'Brook' Street. Next, winding under the curve of 'Aye Hill,'⁵ it ran out through the Green

stream was built by Matilda, the good queen of Henry I., is probably a mistake founded on the statement of Weever, who says (p. 454) that Matilda 'buidled the bridges over the River 'of Lea at Stratford Bow, and over 'the little brooke called Chanelesse-bridge.' The situation of the second bridge not being definitely given in this passage, Maitland may have assumed, as Dart actually does assume, that it was identical with the bridge near Channel Row, Westminster. On referring to Stow, however (*Annals*, A.D. 1118), we find that the Queen built two stone bridges—one over the Lea at Stratford, and one not far from it, over a little brook called 'Chanelessebridge.' And it is evident from other facts which he mentions, that Stow had seen the record of proceedings in the King's Bench in 6 Edward II., in which is recited an inquisition of 32 Edward I., assigning the foundation of these two bridges, the Stratford bridge and the 'Chanelesse-bridg,' near it, to Queen Matilda. Stow evidently knew nothing about the founder of the bridge near Channel

Row, Westminster; for in his *Surrey* he merely mentions it as before quoted. And in his notice of Matilda's place of sepulture he makes no allusion to it. I owe this correction to Mr. F. S. Haydon. Mr. Walcott has since discovered that the bridge over the Westminster stream was called the Abbot's Bridge at Tot-hill.

¹ See Appendix to Dean Buckland's Sermon on Westminster Abbey.

² The word 'ditch' is used for a brook, as in Kenditch, near Hampstead. The ditch was remembered in 1799. (*Gent. Mag.* lxi. part ii. p. 577.)

³ For the whole plan of the manor or plain of *Eye* or *Eia*, containing the course of the brook, see *Arch.* xxvi. 224, 226, 234.

⁴ Stratford Place marks the site of the banqueting house attached to the conduits of Tybourne. (*Arch.* xxvi. 226.) The T'aye is probably from the Saxon 'æt,' 'at' (as in Attwater, Attwood, Atbourne), meaning 'the road 'near the bourne from the island.'

⁵ In the case of *Hay Hill*, the London vulgaria has permanently prefixed

Park; and whilst a thin stream found its way through what is now called the King's Scholars' Pond Sewer into the Thames, its waters also spread through the morass (which was afterwards called from it, the manor of *Eyebury*, or *Ebury*) into the vast *Bulinga Fen*.¹

The island (or peninsula) thus enclosed, in common with more than one similar spot, derived its name from its thickets of thorn—Thorn Ey,² the Isle of Thorns—which formed in their jungle a refuge for the wild ox³ or huge red deer with towering antlers, that strayed into it from the neighbouring hills. This spot, thus entrenched, marsh within marsh, and forest within forest, was indeed *locus terribilis*,⁴ 'the terrible place,' as it was called in the first notices of its existence; yet even thus early it presented several points of attraction to the founder of whatever was the original building which was to redeem it from the wilderness. It had the advantages of a Thebaid, as contrasted with the stir and tumult of the neighbouring fortress of London. And, on the other hand, the river, then swarming with fish,⁵ was close by to feed the colony; the gravel soil and the close fine sand, still dug up under the floor of the Abbey and in St. Margaret's Churchyard, was necessarily healthy; and in the centre of the thickets there bubbled up at least one spring, perhaps two, which gave them water clear and pure, supplied by the percolation of the rain-water from the gravel beds of Hyde Park and the Palace Gardens through the isthmus, when the river was too turbid to drink.⁶ It has been said, with a happy paradox, that no local traditions are so durable as those which are 'writ in water.'⁷ So it is here. In the green of Dean's Yard there stands a well-worn pump. The

The spring.

the aspirate. The original 'Aye Hill' appears in a charter of Henry VI., in the archives of Eton College.

¹ Tothill Fields (Vincent Square). (*Arch.* xxvi. 224.)

² Or Dorney. (Burton's *London and Westminster*, p. 285.) There was a Thorney Abbey in Cambridgeshire and in Somersetshire. The description of one of these in *Ordericus Vitalis* (book xi.) exactly describes what Westminster Abbey must have been. 'It is called in English the Isle of Thorns, because its woods, thick with all manner of trees, are surrounded by vast pools of water.'

³ The bones of such an ox (*Bos primicerius*) were discovered under the

foundations of the Victoria Tower, and red deer, with very fine antlers, below the River Terrace. I derive this from Professor Owen. Bones and antlers of the elk and red deer were also found in 1868 in Broad Sanctuary in making the Metropolitan Railway.

⁴ 'In loco terribili' is the phrase used by Offa in the first authentic charter, and repeated in Edgar's (Widmore's *Inquiry*, pp. 14, 15; Kemble, *Code Anglo-Saxonius*, § 149).

⁵ *Fluvius maximus, piscosus*. (Fitzstephen. *Vita Sancti Thomæ*. Desc. civ. Lond.)

⁶ See Appendix to Dean Buckland's Sermon.

⁷ Clark's *Peloponnesus*, p. 286.

spring,¹ which, till quite recently, supplied it, was the vivifying centre of all that has grown up around.

II. These were the original elements of the greatness of Westminster, and such was the Isle of Thorns. On like islands arose the cathedral and town of Ely, the Abbey of Croyland, the Abbey of Glastonbury, and the Castle-Cathedral of Limerick. On such another grew up a still more exact parallel—Notre Dame at Paris, with the palace of the kings close by. What was the first settlement in those thorny shades, amidst those watery wastes, beside that bubbling spring, it is impossible to decipher. The monastic traditions maintained that the earliest building had been a Temple of Apollo, shaken down by an earthquake in the year A.D. 154, not, however, before it had received the remains of Bladud the magician, who lighted here in his preternatural flight from Bath, and was thus the first interment in the venerable soil. But this is probably no more than the attempt to outshine the rival cathedral of St. Paul's, by endeavouring to counterbalance the dubious claims of the Temple of Diana² by a still more dubious assertion of the claims of the temple of her brother the Sun God.³ Next comes King Lucius, the legendary founder of the originals of St. Peter's, Cornhill, Gloucester, Canteburry, Dover, Bangor, Glastonbury, Cambridge, Winchester. He it was who was said to have converted the two London temples into churches;⁴ or, according to one version, to have restored two yet more ancient churches which the temples had superseded.⁵ He it was who, in the Swiss legends, deserted his British throne to become the bishop of Coire in the Grisons, where in the cathedral are shown his relics, with those of his sister Emerita; and high in the woods above the town emerges a rocky pulpit, still bearing the marks of his fingers, from which he preached to the inhabitants

¹ There is also another in St. Margaret's Churchyard.

² For the story of the Temple of Diana, as well as for all other illustrations rendered to the Abbey, partly by parallel, partly by contrast, from its great rival, the Cathedral of London, I have a melancholy pleasure in referring to the 'Annals of St. Paul's,' the last work of its illustrious and venerable chief, Dean Milman.

³ Letter of Sir Christopher Wren (*Life*, App. xxix. p. 106). The two

main British divinities were so called by the Romans, and Apollo is said to have been *Belin*,—according to one version the origin of *Billinggate*. (See Fuller's *Church Hist.* i. § 2.)

⁴ Westminster alone is ascribed to him in Brompton. (Twysden, c. 724.) For his supposed establishment of the Sanctuary, see Abbot Feckenham's speech, A.D. 1555, quoted in Chap. V.

⁵ Ellis's *Dugdale*, p. 3; Milman's *Church of St. Paul's*, p. 3.

of the valleys, in a voice so clear and loud, that it could be heard on the Luciensteig (the Pass of Lucius), twelve miles off. The only authentic record of the Roman period is the sarcophagus of Valerius Amandinus, discovered in the north green of the Abbey¹ in 1869.

The clouds which hang so thick over the Temple of Apollo and the Church of Lucius are only so far removed when we reach the time of Sebert,² as that in him we arrive at an unquestionably historical personage, if indeed the Sebert to whom the foundation of the Abbey is ascribed be the king of that name in Essex, and not, as another writer represents, a private citizen of London.³ But Bede's entire omission of Westminster in his account⁴ of Sebert's connection with St. Paul's throws a doubt over the whole story, and the introduction of the name in relation to Westminster may be only another attempt of the Westminster monks to redress their balance against St. Paul's.

Still the tradition afterwards appeared in so substantial a form, that Sebert's grave has never ceased to be shown in the Abbey from the time of the erection of the present building. Originally it would seem to have been inside the church. Then, during the repairs of Henry III., the remains were deposited on the south side of the entrance to the Chapter-house,⁵ and subsequently, in the reign of Edward II., removed to the Choir,⁶ where they occupy a position on the south of the altar analogous to that of Dagobert the founder of St. Denys. A figure, supposed to be that of Sebert, is painted over it.⁷ The same tradition that records his burial in the Chapter-house adds to his remains those of his wife Ethelgoda and his sister Ricula.⁸

A.D. 616.
Church of
Sebert.

Grave of
Sebert.

¹ For a complete account of it, see the dissertations on it collected by Mr. Albert Way, and reprinted from the *Archæological Journal*. It is now in the entrance to the Chapter-house.

² 'Our father Saba,' as his wild sons used to call him, when they envied the fragments of 'white bread' which they saw the bishop give him in the Eucharist. (Bede, ii. 6.) The fine description of the Abbey by Montalembert (*Moines de l'Occident*, iv. 432) is in connection with Sebert.

³ Sulcard, in Cotton MSS. Faustina, B. iii., f. 12, in marg.; Higden, p. 228; Thorn. Twysden, c. 1768.

⁴ Bede, ii. 3.

⁵ Flete MS.

⁶ Weaver's *Funeral Monuments*, p. 456. See the Epitaph in Ackermann, i. 83. The right arm was supposed to be still undecayed, with the skin clinging to the bone, A.D. 1307. (Walsingham, i. 114; Rishanger, p. 425.)

⁷ A sarcophagus of Purbeck marble was found under the canopy, in 1886, when the modern structure of brickwork was removed, which had been erected by Dean Ireland, and which is elaborately described in *Gent. Mag.* xcv. p. 306.

⁸ His mother, according to Bede (ii. 3), sister to Ethelbert. See Chapters III. and V.

The gradual formation of a monastic body, indicated in the charters of Offa and Edgar, marks the spread of the Benedictine Order throughout England, under the influence of Dunstan.¹ The 'terror' of the spot, which had still been its chief characteristic in the charter of the wild Offa, had in the days of the more peaceful Edgar given way to a dubious 'renown.' Twelve monks is the number traditionally said to have been established by Dunstan.² A few acres near Staines formed their chief property, and their monastic character was sufficiently recognised to have given to the old locality of the 'terrible place' the name of the 'Western Monastery,' or 'Minster of the West.'³ But this seems to have been overrun by the Danes, and it would have had no further history but for the combination of circumstances which directed hither the notice of Edward the Confessor.

III. It has been truly remarked that there is a striking difference between the origin of Pagan temples and of Christian churches. 'The Pagan temples were always the public works of nations and of communities. They were national buildings, dedicated to national purposes. The mediæval churches, on the other hand, were the erections of individuals, monuments of personal piety, tokens of the hope of a personal reward.'⁴ This cannot be said, without reserve, of Southern Europe, where, as at Venice and Florence, the chief churches were due to the munificence of the State. But in England it is true even of the one ecclesiastical building which is most especially national—the gift not of private individuals, but of kings. Westminster Abbey is, in its origin, the monument not merely of the personal piety, but of the personal character and circumstances of its Founder.

We know the Confessor well from the descriptions preserved by his contemporaries. His appearance was such as no one could forget. It was almost that of an Albino. His full-flushed rose-red cheeks strangely contrasted with the milky whiteness of his waving hair and beard. His eyes were always fixed on the ground. There was a kind

Edward the
Confessor.
His outward
appearance.

¹ William of Malmesbury. *De Gest. Reg. Angl.* (Hardy), i. 237, 240, 247; and *De Gest. Pont. Angl.* (Savile, *Scriptores post Bedam*, p. 202.)

² *Diceto*. Twysden, c. 456.

³ Charter of Offa (Abbey Archives, Charters, No. 3), 'loco terribili quod dicitur set Westmunster.' Charter of

Edgar (*ibid.*, Charters, No. 5), 'nomi-
'natissimo loco qui dicitur West-
'mynster.' The name must have been
given in contradistinction to St. Paul's
in the East.

⁴ Merivale's Boyle Lectures, *Conversion of the Northern Nations*, p. 122.

of magical charm in his thin white hands and his long transparent fingers,¹ which not unnaturally led to the belief that there resided in them a healing power of stroking away the diseases of his subjects. His manners presented a singular mixture of gravity and levity. Usually affable and gentle, so as to make even a refusal look like an acceptance, he burst forth at times into a fury which showed that the old Berserkir rage was not dead within him.² 'By God and His mother, I will give you just such another turn if ever it come in my way!' was the utterance of what was thought by his biographers a mild expression of his noble indignation against a peasant who interfered with the pleasure of his chase.³ Austere as were his habits—old even as a child—he startled his courtiers sometimes by a sudden smile or a peal of laughter, for which they or he could only account by some mysterious vision.⁴ He cared for little but his devotional exercises and hunting. He would spend hours in church, and then, as soon as he was set free, would be off to the woods for days together, flying his hawks and cheering on his hounds.

With his gentle piety was blended a strange hardness towards those to whom he was most bound. He was harsh to his mother. His alienation from his wife, even in that fantastic age, was thought extremely questionable.⁵ ^{His character.} His good faith was not unimpeachable. 'There was nothing,' it was said, 'that he would not promise from the exigency of the time. He pledged his faith on both sides, and confirmed 'by oath anything that was demanded of him.'⁶ On the other hand a childish kindliness towards the poor and suffering made them look upon him as their natural protector. The unreasoning benevolence which, in a modern French romance, appears as an extravagance of an unworldly bishop, was literally ascribed to the Confessor in a popular legend, of which the representation was depicted on the tapestries that once hung round the Choir, and may still be seen in one of the com-

¹ Longis interluculentibus digitis. (Harleian Life, p. 240.) The presence of 'the pious king' is intimated in Shakspeare (*Macbeth*, act iv. scene 3) only by the crowd waiting to be touched for the Evil.

² Harleian Life, 225. See this well drawn out in the *North British Review*, xiii. 361.

³ William of Malmesbury, ii. 13.

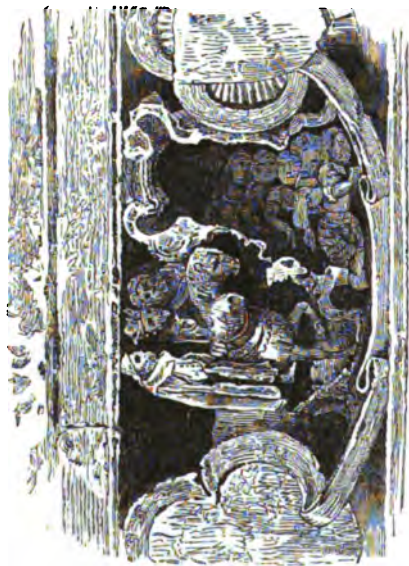
(See Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, ii. 27.)

⁴ Ailred of Rievaulx, c. 373.

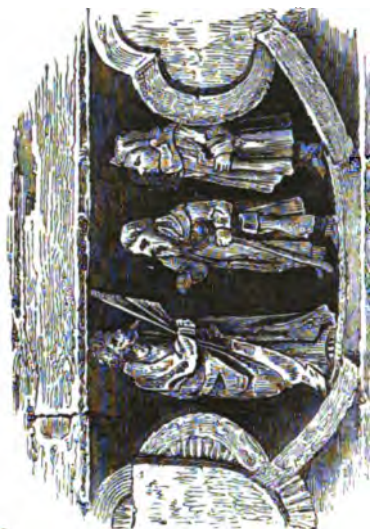
⁵ As when he saw in a trance the shipwreck of the King of Denmark (Oxford Life, 244; Cambridge Life, 1342), or the movements of the Seven Sleepers. See p. 24.

⁶ Harleian Life, 480-495.

⁷ William of Malmesbury, ii. 13. Harleian Life, 875-890.



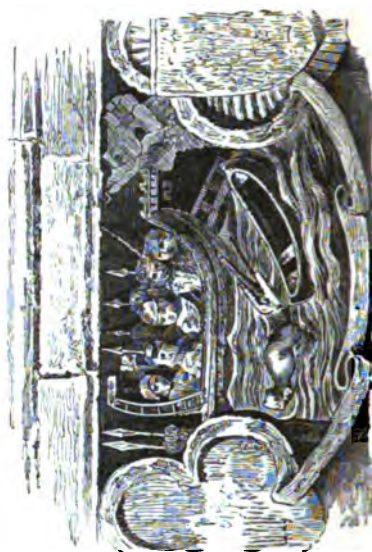
THE VISIT TO THE SEVEN SLEEPERS.



ST. JOHN AND THE PILGRIMS.



THE DARKNESS.



THE SHIPWRECK OF THE KING OF DENMARK.

partments of the screen of his shrine.¹ The king was reposing after the labours of the day. His chamberlain, Hugolin, had opened the chest of the royal monies to pay the servants of the palace. The scullion crept in to avail himself, as he supposed, of the King's sleep, and carried off the remains of the treasure. At his third entrance Edward started up, and warned him to fly before the return of Hugolin ('He will not leave you even a halfpenny'); and to the remonstrances of Hugolin answered, 'The thief hath more need of it than we—enough treasure hath King Edward!'²

Another peculiar combination marks his place equally in the history of England and in the foundation of the Abbey. He was the last of the Saxons—that is, the last of those concerned in the long struggle against the ^{The last of the Saxons.} Danes. As time went on, the national feeling transfigured him almost into a Saxon Arthur.³ In him was personified all the hatred with which the Anglo-Saxon Christians regarded the Pagan Norsemen. His exile to escape from their tyranny raised him at once to the rank of 'Confessor,' as Edmund the East Angle, by his death in battle with them, had been in like manner raised to the rank of 'Martyr.' A curious legend represents that, on entering his treasury, he saw a black demon dancing on the casks⁴ which contained the gold extracted from his subjects to pay the obnoxious tax to the Danes, and how in consequence the Danegelt was for ever abolished.

He was also the first of the Normans. His reign is the earliest link which reunites England to the Continent of Europe. Hardly since the invasion of Cæsar—certainly not ^{The first of the} since the arrival of Augustine—had such an influx of ^{Normans.} new ideas poured into our insular commonwealth as came with Edward from his Norman exile. His mother Emma and his

¹ The legends which are here cited are not found in the contemporary life of the Confessor in the eleventh century, and therefore cannot be trusted for the accuracy of their facts or their language, but only as representing the feeling of the next generation. The screen is of the fifteenth century, but it faithfully preserves these records of the twelfth. Nothing shows the rapidity of the growth of these legends more than the fact that out of the fourteen subjects

thus represented, so few are actually historical.

² Cambridge Life, 1000-1040.

³ See the comparison in the Cambridge Life, 900-910.

⁴ Cambridge Life, 940-961. The casks are represented in the frieze of the screen. This long continued to be the mode of keeping money, as appears from the story of Wolsey and the Jester. For the abolition of the Danegelt see Cambridge Life, 922, 1884; Oxford Life, 302.

maternal grandfather Richard were more to him than his father Ethelred; the Norman clergy and monks than his own rude Anglo-Saxon hierarchy. His long hair and beard, distinguishing his appearance from that of the shorn and shaven heads of his Norman kinsmen, were almost the only outward marks of his Saxon origin. The French handwriting superseded in his court the old Anglo-Saxon characters; ¹ the French seals, under his auspices, became the type of the sign-manual of England for centuries.² From him the Norman civilisation spread not only into England, but into Scotland. His grand-nephew Edgar Atheling, as the head of the Anglo-Norman migration into the north, was the father of the Scottish Lowlands.

These were the qualities and circumstances which went to make up the Founder of Westminster Abbey. We have now to ask, What special motive induced the selection of this particular site and object for his devotion?

The idea of a regal Abbey on a hitherto unexampled scale may have been suggested or strengthened by the accounts brought back to him of Reims, where his envoys had been present at the consecration of the Abbey of St. Remy, hard by the cathedral in which the French kings were crowned.³ By this time also the wilderness of Thorney was cleared; and the crowded river, with its green meadows, and the sunny aspect of the island,⁴ may have had a charm for the King, whose choice had hitherto lain in the rustic fields of Islip and Windsor.

But the prevailing motive was of a more peculiar kind, belonging to times long since passed away. In that age, as still amongst some classes in Roman Catholic countries, religious sentiment took the form of special devotion to this or that particular saint. Amongst Edward's favourites St. Peter was chief.⁵ On his protection, whilst in Normandy, when casting about for help, the exiled Prince had thrown himself, and vowed that, if he returned in safety, he would make a pilgrimage to the Apostle's grave at Rome. This vow was, it is said, further impressed on

Foundation
of the
Abbey.

Consecration
at Reims.

Meadows of
Thorney.

The Confessor's
devotion to St.
Peter.

His vow.

¹ Lappenberg (Thorpe), ii. 246.

² Palgrave's *History of England*, p. 328.

³ *Saxon Chronicle*, 1049.

⁴ The combination of motives is well given in the contemporary Life. (Har-

leian MS. 980-985.) Quoted as the motto to this chapter.

⁵ The church of the Confessor's residence at Old Windsor is dedicated to St. Peter, and the site of his palace is thence called Peter's Hill.

his mind by the arrival of a messenger from England, almost immediately afterwards, with the announcement of the departure of the Danes, and of his own election as King.¹ It was yet further confirmed by a vision, real or feigned, of Brithwold, Bishop of Winchester, at Glastonbury,² in which St. Peter, the patron saint of Winchester Cathedral, appeared to him, and announced that the Bishop himself should crown a youth, whom the saint dearly loved, to be King of England.³

Accordingly, when Edward came to the throne, he announced to his Great Council his intention of fulfilling his vow. The proposal was received with horror by nobles and people. It was met both by constitutional objections, and on the ground of the dangers of the expedition. The King could not leave the kingdom without the consent of the Commons; he could not undertake such a journey without encountering the most formidable perils—‘the roads, the sea, the mountains, ‘the valleys, ambuscades at the bridges and the fords,’ and most of all ‘the felon Romans, who seek nothing but gain and ‘gifts.’ ‘The red gold and the white silver they covet as a ‘leech covets blood.’⁴ The King at last gave way, on the suggestion that a deputation might be sent to the Pope who might release him from his vow. The deputation went. The release came, on the condition that he should found or restore a monastery of St. Peter, of which the King should be the especial patron. It was, in fact, to be a pilgrimage by proxy, such as has sometimes been performed by traversing at home the same number of miles that would be travelled on the way to Palestine;⁵ sometimes by sending the heart after death,⁶ to perform what the living had been unable to accomplish in person.

Where, then, was a monastery of St. Peter to be found which could meet this requirement? It might possibly have been that at Winchester. Perhaps in this hope the story of Bishop Brithwold’s vision was revived. But there was also the little ‘minster,’ west of London, near which the King

¹ Cambridge Life, 780–825.

² Ailred, 373. There is a difficulty in distinguishing Brithwold, Bishop of Winchester, and Brithwold, Bishop of Wilton. The chronicles in general are in favour of Winchester. One of the Lives of the Confessor is in favour of Wilton.

³ Cambridge Life, 640–700.

⁴ Ibid. p. 222. The various dangers of the journey to Rome are well given in William of Malmesbury (ii. 13).

⁵ As in the case of the late King of Saxony.

⁶ As in the case of Edward I. of England, and Robert the Bruce and James I. of Scotland.

from time to time resided, and of which his friend Edwin,¹ the courtier abbot, was head. It had, as far back as memory extended, been dedicated to St. Peter. A Welsh legend of later times maintained that it was at 'Lampeter,' 'the Church of Peter,' that the Apostle saw the vision in which he was warned that he must shortly 'put off his 'earthly tabernacle.'² If the original foundation of the Abbey can be traced back to Sebert, the name, probably, must have been given in recollection of the great Roman Sanctuary, whence Augustine, the first missionary, had come.³ And Sebert was believed to have dedicated his church to St. Peter in the Isle of Thorns, in order to balance the compliment he had paid to St. Paul on Ludgate Hill:⁴ a reappearance, in another form, of the counterbalancing claims of the rights of Diana and Apollo—the earliest stage of that rivalry which afterwards expressed itself in the proverb of 'robbing Peter to pay Paul.'⁵

This thin thread of tradition, which connected the ruinous pile in the river-island with the Roman reminiscences of Augustine, was twisted firm and fast round the resolve of Edward; and by the concentration of his mind⁶ on this one object was raised the first distinct idea of an Abbey, which the Kings of England should regard as their peculiar treasure.

There are, probably, but few Englishmen now who care to know that the full title of Westminster Abbey is the 'Collegiate Church or Abbey of St. Peter.' But at the time of its first foundation, and long afterwards, the whole neighbourhood and the whole story of the foundation breathed of nothing else but the name, which was itself a reality. 'The soil of St. Peter' was a recognised legal phrase. The name of Peter's 'Eye,' or 'Island,'⁷ which still lingers in the low land of Battersea, came by virtue of its connection with the Chapter of Westminster.⁸ Anyone who infringed the charter of the Abbey would, it was declared, be specially condemned by St. Peter, when he sits on his throne judging the twelve tribes of Israel.⁹ Of the Abbey of St. Peter at Westminster, as of the

¹ See Chapter V.

² 2 Pet. i. 14. (I cannot recover the reference to this legend.)

³ See *Memorials of Canterbury*, p. 11.

⁴ Ailred, c. 384.

⁵ See Chapter VI.

⁶ Dagobert, in like manner, had a peculiar veneration for St. Denys.

⁷ Smith's *Antiquities*, p. 34.

⁸ The 'Cock' in Tothill Street, where the workmen of the Abbey received their pay, was probably from the cock of St. Peter. A black marble statue of St. Peter is said to lie at the bottom of the well under the pump in Prince's Street. (Walcott, 73, 280.)

⁹ Pope Nicholas's Letter, Kemble (*Codex*), § 825.

more celebrated basilica of St. Peter at Rome, it may be said that 'super hanc *Petram*' the Church of Westminster has been built.

Round the undoubted fact that this devotion to St. Peter was Edward's prevailing motive, gathered, during his own lifetime or immediately after, the various legends which give it form and shape in connection with the special peculiarities of the Abbey.

There was in the neighbourhood of Worcester, 'far from men in the wilderness, on the slope of a wood, in a cave, deep down in the grey rock,' a holy hermit 'of great age, living on fruits and roots.' One night, when, after reading in the Scriptures 'how hard are the pains of hell, and how the enduring life of Heaven is sweet and to be desired,' he could neither sleep nor repose, St. Peter appeared to him, 'bright and beautiful, like to a clerk,' and warned him to tell the King that he was released from his vow; that on that very day his messengers would return from Rome; that 'at Thorney, two leagues from the city,' was the spot marked out where, in an ancient church, 'situated low,' he was to establish a Benedictine monastery, which should be 'the gate of heaven, the ladder of prayer, whence those who serve St. Peter there shall by him be admitted into Paradise.' The hermit writes the account of the vision on parchment, seals it with wax, and brings it to the King, who compares it with the answer of the messengers just arrived from Rome, and determines on carrying out the design as the Apostle had ordered.¹

Another legend² still more precise developed the attractions of the spot still further. In the vision to the Worcestershire hermit, St. Peter was reported to have said that he had consecrated the church at Thorney with his own hands. How this came to pass was now circulated in versions slightly varying from each other, but of which the main features agreed. It was on a certain Sunday night in the reign of King Sebert, the eve of the day fixed by Mellitus, first Bishop of London, for the consecration of the original monastery in the Isle of Thorns, that a fisherman of the name

Legend of
the Hermit
of Wor-
cester.

Legend of
Edric the
fisherman.

¹ Cambridge Life, 1740: Oxford Life, 270.

² That this story was not in existence before the Confessor's reign, appears from its absence in the original charter of Edgar (Widmore's *Inquiry*, p. 22).

The first trace of it is the allusion in the Confessor's charters, if genuine (Kemble, vol. iv. §§ 824-6). It does not appear in the contemporary Harleian Life, but is fully developed in Sulcard and Ailred.

of Edric was casting his nets from the shore of the island into the Thames.¹ On the other side of the river, where Lambeth now stands, a bright light attracted his notice. He crossed, and found a venerable personage, in foreign attire, calling for some one to ferry him over the dark stream. Edric consented. The stranger landed, and proceeded at once to the church. On his way he evoked with his staff the two springs of the island. The air suddenly became bright with a celestial splendour. The building stood out clear, 'without darkness or shadow.' A host of angels, descending and reascending, with sweet odours and flaming candles, assisted, and the church was dedicated with the usual solemnities. The fisherman remained in his boat, so awestruck by the sight, that when the mysterious visitant returned and asked for food, he was obliged to reply that he had caught not a single fish. Then the stranger revealed his name: 'I am Peter, keeper of the keys of Heaven. When Mellitus arrives to-morrow, tell him what you have seen; and show him the token that I, St. Peter, have consecrated my own Church of St. Peter, Westminster, and have anticipated the Bishop of London.'² For yourself, go out into the river; you will catch a plentiful supply of fish, whereof the larger part shall be salmon. This I have granted on two conditions—first, that you never fish again on Sundays; secondly, that you pay a tithe of them to the Abbey of Westminster.'

The next day, at dawn, 'the Bishop Mellitus rises, and begins to prepare the anointing oils and the utensils for the great dedication.' He, with the King, arrives at the appointed hour. At the door they are met by Edric with the salmon in his hand, which he presents 'from St. Peter in a gentle manner to the Bishop.' He then proceeds to point out the marks 'of the twelve crosses on the church, the walls within and without moistened with holy water, the letters of the Greek alphabet written twice over distinctly on the sand' of the now sacred island, 'the traces of the oil, and (chiefest of the miracles) the droppings of the angelic candles.' The Bishop professed himself entirely convinced, and returned from the church, 'satisfied that the dedication had been performed sufficiently, better,

¹ Cambridge Life, 2060; Sulcard in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, i. 289.

² 'Episcopalem benedictionem meam

'sanctificationis auctoritate præveni.' (Ailred, cc. 385, 386. Sporley and Sulcard in Dugdale, i. 288, 289.)

'and in a more saintly fashion than a hundred such as he could have done.'¹

The story is one which has its counterparts in other churches. The dedication of Einsiedlen, in Switzerland, and that of the rock at Le Puy, in Auvergne,² were ascribed to angelic agency. The dedication of the chapel of St. Joseph of Arimathea at Glastonbury was ascribed to Christ Himself, who appeared to warn off St. David, as St. Peter at Westminster did Mellitus. St. Nicholas claimed to have received his restored pall, and St. Denys the sacraments of the Church, from the same source, and not from any episcopal or priestly hands. All these legends have in common the merit of containing a lurking protest against the necessity of external benediction for things or persons sacred by their own intrinsic virtue—a covert declaration of the great catholic principle (to use Hooker's words) that God's grace is not tied 'to outward forms.' But the Westminster tradition possesses, besides, the peculiar charm of the local colouring of the scene, and betrays the peculiar motives whence it arose. We are carried back by it to the times when the wild Thames, with its fishermen and its salmon,³ was still an essential feature of the neighbourhood of the Abbey. We see in it the importance attached to the name of the Apostle. We see also the union of innocent fiction with worldly craft, which marks so many legends both of Pagan and Christian times.⁴ It represents the earliest protest of the Abbots of Westminster against the jurisdiction of the Bishops of London. It was recited by them long afterwards as the solid foundation of the inviolable right of sanctuary in Westminster.⁵ It contains the claim established by them on the tithe of the Thames fisheries from Gravesend to Staines. A lawsuit was successfully carried by the Convent of Westminster against the Rector of Rotherhithe, in 1282, on the ground that St. Peter had granted the first haul.⁶ The parish clergy, however, struggled against the claim, and the monastic historian Flete, in the gradually

¹ The Roman annalists are not satisfied with the purely British character of this legend, and add that Mellitus being in doubt deferred the consecration till being at Rome in a council he consulted with Pope Boniface IV., who decided against it. Surinus, tom. i. in Vit. St. Januar.; Baronius, vol. viii. anno 610.

² The bells were rung by the hands of angels, and the church was called

the Chamber of Angels. (Mandet's *Hist. du Velay*, ii. 27.)

³ A 'Thames salmon,' with asparagus, was still a customary dish in the time of Charles I. (State Papers, April 12, 1629.)

⁴ See *Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church*, p. 80.

⁵ See Chapter V.

⁶ See Neale, p. 6; Ware's *Consecrations*.

increasing scarcity of salmon, saw a Divine judgment on the fishermen for not having complied with St. Peter's request. Once a year, as late as 1382, one of the fishermen, as representative of Edric, took his place beside the Prior, and brought in a salmon for St. Peter. It was carried in state through the middle of the Refectory. The Prior and the whole fraternity rose as it passed up to the high table, and then the fisherman received ale and bread from the cellarer in return for the fish's tail.¹

The little Church or Chapel of St. Peter, thus dignified by the stories of its first origin, was further believed to have been specially endeared to Edward by two miracles, reported to have occurred within it in his own lifetime. The first was the cure of a crippled Irishman, Michael, who sate in the road between the Palace and 'the Chapel of St. Peter, 'which was near,' and who explained to the inexorable Hugolin that, after six pilgrimages to Rome in vain, St. Peter had promised his cure if the King would, on his own royal neck, carry him to the monastery. The King immediately consented; and, amidst the scoffs of the Court, bore the poor man to the steps of the High Altar. There he was received by Godric the sacristan, and walked away on his own restored feet, hanging his stool on the wall for a trophy.²

Before that same High Altar was also believed to have been seen one of the Eucharistical portents, so frequent in the Middle Ages. A child, 'pure and bright like a spirit,' appeared to the King in the sacramental elements.³ Leofric, Earl of Mercia, who, with his famous countess Godiva, was present, saw it also. The King imposed secrecy upon them during his life. The Earl confided the secret to a holy man at Worcester (perhaps the hermit before mentioned), who placed the account of it in a chest, which, after all concerned were dead, opened of itself and revealed the sacred deposit.

Such as these were the motives of Edward. Under their influence was fixed what has ever since been the local centre of the English monarchy and nation—of the Palace and the Legislature no less than of the Abbey.

There had, no doubt, already existed, by the side of the Thames, an occasional resort of the English Kings. But the Roman fortress in London, or the Saxon city of Winchester, had

¹ Pennant's *London*, p. 57.

² Cambridge Life, 1920-2020.

³ Cambridge Life, 2515-55. It appears on the screen of the chapel.

been hitherto their usual abode. Edward himself had formerly spent his time chiefly at his birthplace, Islip, or at the rude palace on the rising ground, still marked ^{Palace of West-} by various antique remains, above 'Old Windsor.'¹ But now, for the sake of superintending the new Church at Westminster, he lived, more than any previous king, in the regal residence (which he in great part rebuilt) close beside it. The Abbey and the Palace grew together, and into each other, in the closest union: just as in Scotland, a few years later, Dunfermline Palace and Dunfermline Abbey sprang up side by side; and again, Holyrood Abbey—first within the Castle of Edinburgh, and then on its present site—by Holyrood Palace. 'The Chamber of St. Edward,' as it was called from him, or 'the Painted Chamber,' from its subsequent decorations, was the kernel of the Palace of Westminster. This fronted what is still called the 'Old Palace Yard,' as distinguished from the 'New Palace' of William Rufus, of which the only vestige is the framework of the ancient Hall, looking out on what, from its novelty at that time, was called the 'New Palace Yard,'—'New,' like the 'New Castle' of the Conqueror, or the 'New College' of Wykeham.

The privileges² which the King was anxious to obtain for the new institution were in proportion to the magnificence of his design, and the difficulties encountered for this purpose are a proof of the King's eagerness in the cause. As always in such cases, it was necessary to procure a confirmation of these privileges from the Pope. The journey to Rome was, ^{Journey to Rome.} in those troubled times, a serious affair. The deputation consisted of Aldred,³ who had lately been translated from Worcester to York; the King's two chaplains, Gyso and Walter; Tosti and Gurth, the King's brothers-in-law; and Gospatrick, kinsman of the Confessor and companion of Tosti. Some of the laymen had taken this opportunity to make their pilgrimage to the graves of the Apostles. The Archbishop of York had also his own private ends to serve—the grant of the pall for York, and a dispensation to retain the see of Worcester. The Pope refused his request, on the not unreasonable

¹ Runny-Mede, 'the meadow of assemblies,' derives its name and its original association from this neighbourhood of the royal residence.

² Cambridge Life, 2325. Kemble, §§ 824, 825. See Chapter V. The

exact statement of these privileges depends on the genuineness of the charters, but their general outline is unquestionable.

³ Harleian Life, 75f 80

ground that the two sees should not be held together. Tosti was furious on behalf of his friend Aldred, but could not gain his point. On their return they were attacked by a band of robbers at Sutri, a spot still dangerous for the same reason. Some of the party were stripped to the skin—amongst them the Archbishop of York.¹ Tosti was saved only by the magnificent appearance of Gospatrick, who rode before, and misled the robbers into the belief that he was the powerful Earl.² Meanwhile Tosti returned to Rome, in a state of fierce indignation, and, with his well-known 'adamantine obstinacy,' declared that he would take measures for stopping Peter's pence from England, by making it known that the Pope, whose claims were so formidable abroad, was in the hands of robbers at home.³ With this threat (so often repeated in every form and tone since) he carried the suit of his friend; and the deputation returned, not only with the privileges of Westminster, but with the questionable confirmation of Aldred's questionable demands.

The Abbey had been fifteen years in building. The King had spent upon it one-tenth of the property of the kingdom.

It was to be a marvel of its kind. As in its origin it bore the traces of the fantastic childish character of the King and of the age, in its architecture it bore the stamp of the peculiar position which Edward occupied in English history between Saxon and Norman. By birth he was a Saxon, but in all else he was a foreigner. Accordingly, the Church at Westminster was a wide sweeping innovation on all that had been seen before.⁴ 'Destroying the old building,' he says in his Charter, 'I have built up a new one from the very foundation.'⁵ Its fame as 'a new style'⁶ of composition lingered in the minds of men for generations. It was the first cruciform church in England, from which all the rest of like shape were copied—an

Building of
the Abbey.

¹ Stubbs, c. 1702. William of Malmesbury in *Life of Wulfstan*, pt. ii. c. 10. (*Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii. 250.)

² Harleian Life, 770.

³ Brompton, c. 952: Knyghton, c. 2336.

⁴ The collegiate church of Waltham, which was founded by Harold in A.D. 1060, must have been the nearest approach to this. But whatever view is taken of the present structure of the church at Waltham, it was considerably smaller than the Abbey. The proof of the size of the Confessor's church rests on the facts—1. That the

Lady Chapel of Henry III. must have abutted on the east end of the old choir as of the present. 2. That the cloisters occupied the same relative position, as may be seen from the existing sub-structures. 3. That the pillars, as excavated in the choir in the repairs of 1866, stand at the same distance from each other as the present pillars. The nave of the church and the chapel of St. Catherine must have been finished under Henry I., the south cloister under William Rufus.

⁵ Kemble, No. 824, iv. 176.

⁶ Matthew Paris, p. 2.

expression of the increasing hold which the idea of the Crucifixion in the tenth century had laid on the imagination of Europe.¹ Its massive roof and pillars formed a contrast with the rude wooden rafters and beams of the common Saxon churches. Its very size—occupying, as it did, almost the whole area of the present building—was in itself portentous. The deep foundations, of large square blocks of gray stone, were duly laid. The east end was rounded into an apse. A tower rose in the centre crowned by a cupola of wood. At the western end were erected two smaller towers, with five large bells. The hard strong stones were richly sculptured. The windows were filled with stained glass. The roof was covered with lead. The cloisters, chapter-house, refectory, dormitory, the infirmary, with its spacious chapel,² if not completed by Edward, were all begun, and finished in the next generation on the same plan. This structure, venerable as it would be if it had lasted to our time, has almost entirely vanished. Possibly one vast dark arch in the southern transept—certainly the substructures of the dormitory, with their huge pillars, ‘regal at the bases and capitals’³—the massive low-browed passage, leading from the great cloister to Little Dean’s Yard—and some portions of the refectory and of the infirmary chapel, remain as specimens of the work which astonished the last age of the Anglo-Saxon and the first age of the Norman monarchy.⁴

The institution was made as new as the building. Abbot Edwin remained; but a large body of monks was imported from Exeter,⁵ coincidentally with the removal of the see of Crediton to Exeter in the person of the King’s friend Leofwin. The services still continued in the old building whilst the new one was rising. A small chapel, dedicated to St. Margaret, which stood on the north side of the present Abbey,⁶ is said to have been pulled down; and a new church, bearing the same name, was built on the site of the present Church of St. Margaret.⁷ The affection entertained for the martyr-saint of Antioch by the House of Cerdic appears in the continuation of her name in Edward’s grandniece, Margaret of Scotland.

¹ Milman’s *History of Latin Christianity*, vi. 507.

² Cambridge Life, 2270–2310.

³ Ibid. 2300.

⁴ See *Gleanings of Westminster Abbey*, pp. 3, 4; Freeman’s *Norman*

Conquest, ii. 509.

⁵ Cambridge Life, 2390; Oxford Life, 381.

⁶ Ackermann, i. 86, 87.

⁷ Widmore, p. 12. Compare the same process at Pershore and Norwich.

The end of the Confessor was now at hand. Two legends mark its approach. The first is as follows. It was at Easter.¹ He was sitting in his gold-embroidered robe, and solemnly crowned, in the midst of his courtiers, who were voraciously devouring their food after the long abstinence of Lent. On a sudden he sank into a deep abstraction. Then came one of his curious laughs,² and again his rapt meditation. He retired into his chamber, and was followed by Duke Harold, the Archbishop, and the Abbot of Westminster.³ To them he confided his vision. He had seen the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus suddenly turn from their right sides to their left, and recognised in this omen the sign of war, famine, and pestilence for the coming seventy years, during which the sleepers were to lie in their new position. Immediately on hearing this, the Duke despatched a knight, the Archbishop a bishop, the Abbot a monk, to the Emperor of Constantinople.⁴ To Mount Celion under his guidance they went, and there found the Seven Sleepers as the King had seen them. The proof of this portent at once confirmed the King's prevision, and received its own confirmation in the violent convulsions which disturbed the close of the eleventh century.

The other legend has a more personal character. The King was on his way to the dedication of the Chapel of St. John the Evangelist.⁵ As Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, was the saint before whom the Confessor trembled with a mysterious awe, John, the Apostle of Love, was the saint whom he venerated with a familiar tenderness.⁶ A beggar implored him, for the love of St. John, to bestow alms upon him. Hugolin was not to be found. In the chest there was no gold or silver. The King remained in silent thought, and then drew off from his hand a ring, 'large, royal, 'and beautiful,' which he gave to the beggar, who vanished. Two English pilgrims, from the town of Ludlow,⁷ shortly afterwards found themselves benighted in Syria; when suddenly

¹ William of Malmesbury, ii. 13.

² Ailred, c. 396.

³ The 'Duke Harold' is named in the legend, 'Le Duca Harauldz' (*Cumbridge Life*, 338); and it can hardly be doubted that by the prelate and abbot were meant the Primate and the Abbot of Westminster.

⁴ Oxford Life, 409. Their journey is represented in the screen.

⁵ By one of the Saxon chroniclers

(see Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, ii. 512) this church is said to have been at Clavering. There was a chapel of St. John close to the palace, now that of St. Stephen (Smith, 127). The parish of St. John, in Westminster, was created in the last century.

⁶ Ailred, c. 397.

⁷ Hence the representation of the story in the painted window of St. Lawrence's Church at Ludlow.

the path was lighted up, and an old man, white and hoary, preceded by two tapers, accosted them. They told him of their country and their saintly King, on which the old man, 'joyously like to a clerk,' guided them to a hostelry, and announced that he was John the Evangelist, the special friend of Edward; and gave them the ring to carry back, with the warning that in six months the King should be with him in Paradise. The pilgrims returned. They found the King at his palace in Essex, said to be called from this incident *Havering atte Bower*, and with a church dedicated to St. John the Evangelist. He acknowledged the ring, and prepared for his end accordingly.¹

The long-expected day of the dedication of the Abbey at last arrived. 'At Midwinter,' says the Saxon Chronicle, 'King Edward came to Westminster, and had the minster there consecrated, which he had himself built, to the honour of God and St. Peter, and all God's saints.' It was at Christmas-time (when, as usual at that age, the Court assembled) that the dedication so eagerly desired was to be accomplished. On Christmas Day he appeared, according to custom, wearing his royal crown;² but on Christmas night, his strength, prematurely exhausted, suddenly gave way. The mortal illness, long anticipated, set in. He struggled, however, through the three next days, even appearing, with his occasional bursts of hilarity, in the stately banquets with the bishops and nobles. On St. John's Day he grew so rapidly worse, that he gave orders for the solemnity to be fixed for the morrow.³ On the morning of that morrow (Wednesday, the Feast of the Holy Innocents, Childermas⁴) he roused himself sufficiently to sign the charter of the Foundation. The peculiar nature of the Festival may have had an attraction for the innocent character of the King; but in the later Middle Ages, and even down to the last century,

Dedication
of the
Abbey.

1065.

December
25.

1065.

December
27.

December
28.

¹ Cambridge Life, 3455-3590; Oxford Life, 410-40. The story is one of those which attached to St. John, from the old belief (John xxi. 23) that he was not dead, but sleeping. Compare his apparition to James IV. at Linlithgow. It occupies three compartments on the screen, and is also to be seen on the tiles of the Chapter-house floor. (See *Archæol.* xxix. 39.)

From the time of Henry III. a figure of St. John, as the pilgrim, stood by the Confessor's shrine; and one such still stands in Henry V.'s Chantry.

² Cambridge Life, 3610.

³ Ailred, c. 399.

⁴ So in the Charter itself (Kemble, iv. 180). Robert of Gloucester and Ailred of Rievaulx fix it on St. John's Day.

a strong prejudice prevailed against beginning anything of moment on that day.¹ If this belief existed already in the time of the Confessor, the selection of the day is a proof of the haste with which the dedication was pushed forward. It is, at any rate, an instance of a most auspicious work begun (if so be) on the most inauspicious day of the year. The signatures which follow the King's acquire a tragic interest in the light of the events of the next few months. Edith the Queen, her brothers Harold and Gurth, Stigand and Aldred, the two rival primates, are the most conspicuous. They, as the King's illness grew upon him, took his place at the consecration. He himself had arranged the ornaments, gifts, and relics;² but the Queen presided at the ceremony³ (she is queen, as he is king, both in church⁴ and in palace); and the walls of Westminster Abbey, then white and fresh from the workman's tools, received from Stigand their first consecration—the first which, according to the legend of St. Peter's visit, had ever been given to the spot by mortal hands. By that effort the enfeebled frame and overstrained spirit of the King were worn out. On the evening of Innocents' Day he sank into a deep stupor and was laid in the chamber in Westminster Palace which long afterwards bore his name. On the third day, a startling rally took place. His voice again sounded loud and clear; his face resumed its brightness. But it was the rally of delirium. A few incoherent sentences broke from his lips. He described how in his trance he had seen two holy monks whom he remembered in Normandy, and how they foretold to him the coming disasters, which should only be ended when 'the green tree, after severance 'from its trunk and removal to the distance of three acres, 'should return to its parent stem, and again bear leaf and 'fruit and flower.' The Queen was sitting on the ground, fondling his cold feet in her lap.⁵ Beside her stood her brother Harold, Rodbert the keeper of the palace, and others who had been called in by Edward's revival. They were all terror-struck. Archbishop Stigand alone had the courage to whisper

December
31.

¹ Home's *Everyday Book*, i. 1648. See Chapter II.

² For the relics, see Dart, i. 37. They consisted of the usual extraordinary fragments of the dresses, etc., of the most sacred personages. The most remarkable were the girdle dropt by the Virgin to convince St. Thomas

of her assumption (which is also shown in the Batopedi Convent of Mount Athos), and the cross which came over sea, against winds and waves, with the Confessor from Normandy.

³ Ailred, c. 399.

⁴ Cambridge Life, 3655.

⁵ Harleian Life, 1480-90.

into Harold's ear that the aged King was doting. The others carefully ¹ caught his words; and the courtly poet of the next century rejoiced to trace in 'the three acres' the reigns of the three illegitimate kings who followed; and in the resuscitation of 'the parent tree,' the marriage of the First Henry with the Saxon Maud, and their ultimate issue in the Third Henry.² Then followed a calm, and on the fifth day afterwards, with words variously reported, respecting the Queen, the succession, and the 'hope that he was passing
'from the land of the dead to the land of the living,'
he breathed his last; and 'St. Peter, his friend,
'opened the gate of Paradise, and St. John, his own dear one,
'led him before the Divine Majesty.'

1066.

Death
of the
Confessor,
Jan. 5.

A horror, it is described, of great darkness filled the whole island. With him, the last lineal descendant of Cerdic, it seemed as if the happiness, the strength, the liberty of the English people had vanished away.³ So gloomy were the forebodings, so urgent the dangers which seemed to press, that on the very next day (Friday,⁴ the Festival of the Epiphany), took place at once his own funeral and the coronation of his successor.

His burial,
Jan. 6.

We must reserve the other event of that memorable day—the coronation of Harold—for the next chapter, and follow the Confessor to his grave. The body, as it lay in the palace, seemed for a moment to recover its lifelike expression. The unearthly smile played once more over the rosy cheeks, the white beard beneath seemed whiter, and the thin stretched-out fingers paler and more transparent than ever.⁵ As usual in the funerals of all our earlier sovereigns, he was attired in his royal habiliments: his crown upon his head; a crucifix⁶ of gold, with a golden chain round his neck; the pilgrim's ring on his hand. Crowds flocked from all the neighbouring villages. The prelates and magnates assisted, and the body was laid before the high altar. Thrice at least it has since been identified: once when, in the curiosity to know whether it still remained uncorrupt, the grave was opened by order of Henry I., in the presence of Bishop Gundulf, who plucked out a

1098.

¹ Cambridge Life, 3714–85.

² Ibid. 3934. See Chapter III.

³ Ailred, c. 402. Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1066.

⁴ The usual date of his death is January 5. In Fabian, Robert of

Gloucester, and the Cambridge Life it is January 4.

⁵ Harleian Life, 1590. Ailred, c. 402.

⁶ Taylor's *Narrative of the Finding of the Crucifix* in 1688, p. 12.

hair from the long white beard; ¹ again when, on its 'trans-
^{1168.} 'lation' by Henry II., the ring was withdrawn; and
^{1269.} again at its final removal to its present position by
 Henry III. It must probably also have been seen both during
^{1538.} its disturbance by Henry VIII., and its replacement
^{1557.} by Mary; and for a moment the interior of the
^{1688.} coffin was disclosed, when a rafter broke in upon it
 after the coronation of James II.² The crucifix and ring were
 given to the King.

In the centre of Westminster Abbey thus lies its Founder,
 and such is the story of its foundation. Even apart from the
 legendary elements in which it is involved, it is im-
 possible not to be struck by the fantastic character of
 all its circumstances. We seem to be in a world of
 poetry. Edward is four centuries later than Ethelbert and
 Augustine; but the origin of Canterbury is commonplace and
 prosaic compared with the origin of Westminster. We can
 hardly imagine a figure more incongruous to the soberness of
 later times than the quaint, irresolute, wayward Prince whose
 chief characteristics have been just described. His titles of
 Confessor and Saint belong not to the general instincts of
 Christendom, but to the most transitory feelings of the age—
 the savage struggles between Saxon and Dane, the worldly
 policy of Norman rulers, the lingering regrets of Saxon sub-
 jects. His opinions, his prevailing motives, were such as in no
 part of modern Europe would now be shared by any educated

¹ Ailred, c. 408.

² Shortly after the coronation of James II., in removing the scaffold, the coffin in which it was enclosed 'was found to be broke,' and 'Charles Taylor, Gent,' put his hand into the 'hole, and turning the bones, which he felt there, drew from underneath the 'shoulder-bones' a crucifix and gold chain, which he showed to Sancroft, Dugdale, and finally to the King, who took possession of it, and had the coffin closed. It was remarked as an omen that the relics were discovered on June 11, the day of Monmouth's landing, and given to the King on July 6, the day of his victory at Sedgmoor. (Taylor's *Narrative*, p. 16.) The story is doubted by Gough (*Sepulchral Monuments*, ii. 7), but is strongly confirmed by the positive assertion of James II. to Evelyn (*Memoirs*, iii. 177, and to

Pepys (*Letters in Camden Society*, No. lxxxviii. p. 211), and of Patrick, who was Prebendary of Westminster at the time. 'The workmen,' he says, 'chanced 'to have a look at the tomb of Edward 'the Confessor, so that they could see 'the shroud in which his body was 'wrapped, which was a mixed coloured 'silk very frail.' In the original MS. of Patrick's autobiography, a small piece of stuff less than an inch square, answering this description, is pinned to the paper, evidently as a specimen of the shroud. 'It appears to be a woven 'fabric of black and yellow silk.' (Patrick, ix. 560.) The gold crucifix and ring are said to have been on James's person when he was rifled by the Faversham fishermen in 1688, and to have been then taken from him. (Thoresby's *Diary*.)

teacher or ruler. But in spite of these irreconcilable differences, there was a solid ground for the charm which he exercised over his contemporaries. His childish and eccentric fancies have passed away; but his innocent faith and his sympathy with his people are qualities which, even in our altered times, may still retain their place in the economy of the world. Westminster Abbey, so we hear it said, sometimes with a cynical sneer, sometimes with a timorous scruple, has admitted within its walls many who have been great without being good, noble with a nobleness of the earth earthy, worldly with the wisdom of this world. But it is a counterbalancing reflection, that the central tomb, round which all those famous names have clustered, contains the ashes of one who, weak and erring as he was, rests his claims of interment here not on any act of power or fame, but only on his artless piety and simple goodness. He—towards whose dust was attracted the fierce Norman, and the proud Plantagenet, and the grasping Tudor, and the fickle Stuart, even the Independent Oliver,¹ the Dutch William, and the Hanoverian George—was one whose humble graces are within the reach of every man, woman, and child of every time, if we rightly part the immortal substance from the perishable form.

Secondly, the foundation of the Abbey and the character of its Founder, consciously or unconsciously, inaugurated the greatest change which, with one exception, the English nation has witnessed from that time till this. Not Connection with the Conquest. in vain had the slumbers of the Seven Sleepers been disturbed; nor in vain the ghosts of the two Norman monks haunted the Confessor's deathbed, with their dismal warnings; nor in vain the comet appeared above the Abbey, towards which, in the Bayeux Tapestry, every eye is strained, and every finger pointing. The Abbey itself—the chief work of the Confessor's life, the last relic of the Royal House of Cerdic—was the shadow cast before the coming event, the portent of the mighty future. When Harold stood by the side of his brother Gurth and his sister Edith on the day of the dedication, and signed (if so be) his name with theirs as witness to the Charter of the Abbey, he might have seen that he was sealing his own doom, and preparing for his own destruction. The solid pillars, the ponderous arches, the huge edifice, with triple tower and sculp-

¹ Both Cromwell (see Marvell's poem Chapter III.) were compared to the on his funeral) and George II. (see Confessor on their deaths.

tured stones and storied windows, that arose in the place and in the midst of the humble wooden churches and wattled tenements of the Saxon period, might have warned the nobles who were present that the days of their rule were numbered, and that the avenging, civilising, stimulating hand of another and a mightier race was at work, which would change the whole face of their language, their manners, their church, and their commonwealth.

The Abbey, so far exceeding the demands of the dull and stagnant minds of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, was founded not only in faith but in hope: in the hope that England had yet a glorious career to run: that the line of her sovereigns would not be broken even when the race of Alfred ceased to reign; that the troubles which the Confessor saw, in prophetic vision, darkening the whole horizon of Europe, would give way before a brighter day than he, or any living man, in the gloom of that disastrous winter and of that boisterous age, could venture to anticipate. The Norman church erected by the Saxon king—the new future springing out of the dying past—the institution, founded for a special and transitory purpose, expanding, till it was coextensive with the interests of the whole commonwealth through all its stages—are standing monuments of the continuity by which in England the new has been ever intertwined with the old; liberty thriving side by side with precedent, the days of the English Church and State ‘linked’ each to each ‘by natural piety.’

Again, it may be almost said that the Abbey has risen and fallen in proportion to the growth of the strong English instinct of which, in spite of his Norman tendencies, Edward was the representative. The first miracle believed to have been wrought at his tomb exemplifies, as in a parable, the rooted characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon basis of the monarchy. When, after the revolution of the Norman Conquest, a French and foreign hierarchy was substituted for the native prelates, one Saxon bishop alone remained—Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester. A Council was summoned to Westminster, over which the Norman king and the Norman primate presided, and Wulfstan was declared incapable of holding his office because he could not speak French.¹ The old man, down to this moment compliant even to excess, was inspired with unusual energy. He walked from St.

Connection
with the
English
Constitu-
tion.

Miracle of
Wulfstan's
crozier.

¹ M. Paris, 20; Ann. Burt., A.D. 1211; Knyghton, c. 2368 (Thierry, ii. 224).

Catherine's Chapel¹ straight into the Abbey. The King and the prelates followed. He laid his pastoral staff on the Confessor's tomb before the high altar. First he spoke in Saxon to the dead King: 'Edward, thou gavest me the staff; to thee 'I return it.' Then, with the few Norman words that he could command, he turned to the living King: 'A better than thou 'gave it to me—take it if thou canst.'² It remained fixed in the solid stone,³ and Wulfstan was left at peace in his see. Long afterwards, King John, in arguing for the supremacy of the Crown of England in matters ecclesiastical, urged this story at length in answer to the claims of the Papal Legate. Pandulf answered, with a sneer, that John was more like the Conqueror than the Confessor.⁴ But, in fact, John had rightly discerned the principle at stake, and the legend expressed the deep-seated feeling of the English people, that in the English Crown and Law lies the true safeguard of the rights of the English clergy. Edward the Confessor's tomb thus, like the Abbey which incases it, contains an aspect of the complex union of Church and State of which all English history is a practical fulfilment.

In the earliest and nearly the only representation which exists of the Confessor's building—that in the Bayeux Tapestry—there is the figure of a man on the roof, with one hand resting on the tower of the Palace of Westminster, and with the other grasping the weathercock of the Abbey. The probable intention of this figure is to indicate the close contiguity of the two buildings. If so, it is the natural architectural expression of a truth valuable everywhere, but especially dear to Englishmen. The close incorporation of the Palace and the Abbey from its earliest days is a likeness of the whole English Constitution—a combination of things sacred and things common—a union of the regal, legal, lay element of the nation with its religious, clerical, ecclesiastical tendencies, such as can be found hardly elsewhere in Christendom. The Abbey is secular because it is sacred, and sacred because it is secular. It is secular in the common English sense, because it is 'sæcular' in the far higher French and Latin sense: a 'sæcular' edifice, a 'sæcular' institution—an edifice and an institution which has grown with the growth of ages, which has been furrowed with the scars and cares of each succeeding century.

¹ There, doubtless, the Council must have been held. See Chapter V.

² *Knyghton*, c. 2368.

³ *Brompton*, c. 976; *M. Paris*, 21; *Vit. Alb.* 3.

⁴ *Ann. Burt.* A.D. 1211.

A million wrinkles carve its skin ;
A thousand winters snow'd upon its breast,
From cheek, and throat, and chin.

The vast political pageants of which it has been the theatre, the dust of the most worldly laid side by side with the dust of the most saintly, the wrangles of divines or statesmen which have disturbed its sacred peace, the clash of arms which has pursued fugitive warriors and princes into the shades of its sanctuary—even the traces of Westminster boys, who have played in its cloisters and inscribed their names on its walls—belong to the story of the Abbey no less than its venerable beauty, its solemn services, and its lofty aspirations. Go elsewhere for your smooth polished buildings, your purely ecclesiastical places of worship : go to the creations of yesterday—the modern basilica, the restored church, the nonconformist tabernacle. But it is this union of secular with ecclesiastical grandeur in Westminster Abbey which constitutes its special delight. It is this union which has made the Abbey the seat of the imperial throne, the sepulchre of kings and kinglike men, the home of the English nation, where for the moment all Englishmen may forget their differences, and feel as one family gathered round the same Christmas hearth, finding underneath its roof, each, of whatever church or sect or party, echoes of some memories dear to himself alone—some dear to all alike—all blending with a manifold yet harmonious ‘voice from ‘Heaven,’ which is as ‘the voice of many waters’ of ages past.

To draw out those memories will be the object of the following Chapters.



FROM THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY.

CHAPTER II.

THE CORONATIONS.

THE Queen sitting in King¹ Edward's Chair, the Archbishop, assisted with the same Archbishops and Bishops as before, comes from the Altar: the Dean of Westminster brings the Crown, and the Archbishop, taking it of him, reverently putteth it upon the Queen's head. At the sight whereof the people, with loud and repeated shouts, cry 'God save the Queen!' and the trumpets sound, and, by a signal given, the great guns at the Tower are shot off. As soon as the Queen is crowned, the Peers put on their coronets and caps. The acclamation ceasing, the Archbishop goeth on and saith: 'Be strong and of a good courage. Observe the commandments of God, and walk in his Holy ways. Fight the good fight of faith, and lay hold on eternal life: that in this world you may be crowned with success and honour, and, when you have finished your course, receive a crown of righteousness, which God the righteous Judge shall give you in that day.'—(*Rubric of Coronation Service*, p. 40.)

¹ 'St. Edward's Chair' (in Charles II.'s Coronation); 'King Edward's Chair' (in James II.'s Coronation, and afterwards).

SPECIAL AUTHORITIES.

THE special authorities for each Coronation are contained in the various Chronicles of each reign. On the general ceremonial the chief works are—

1. Maskell's *Monumenta Rituaalia Ecclesie Anglicanae*, vol. iii.
2. Selden's *Titles of Honour*.
3. Martene's *De Antiquis Ecclesie Ritibus*.
4. The *Liber Regalis* of Richard II., in the custody of the Dean of Westminster.
5. Ogilvy's *Coronation of Charles II.*
6. Sandford's *Coronation of James II.*
7. Taylor's *Glory of Regality* (published for the Coronation of George IV.)
8. Chapters on Coronations (published for the Coronation of Queen Victoria).
9. The Coronation Services for Edward VI. to the present time, preserved in the Lambeth Library.
10. MS. Records in the Heralds' College.

CHAPTER II.

THE CORONATIONS.

THE Church of the Confessor was, as we have seen, the precursor of the Conquest. The first event in the Abbey of which there is any certain record, after the burial of the Confessor, is one which, like the Conquest, arose immediately out of that burial, and has affected its fortunes ever since. It was the Coronation of William the Conqueror.

The Corona-
tion of
William the
Conqueror.

No other coronation-rite in Europe reaches back to so early a period as that of the sovereigns of Britain. The inauguration of Aidan by Columba is the oldest in Christendom.¹ From the Anglo-Saxon order of the Coronation of Egbert² was derived the ancient form of the coronations of the Kings of France. Even the promise not 'to desert the throne of the Saxons, Mercians, and Northumbrians' was left unaltered in the inauguration of the Capetian Kings at Reims.³ But, in order to appreciate the historic importance of the English coronations, we must for a moment consider the original idea of the whole institution. Only in two countries does the rite of coronation retain its full primitive savour. In Hungary, the Crown of St. Stephen still invests the sovereign with a national position; and in Russia, the coronation of the Czars in the Kremlin at Moscow is an event rather than a ceremony. But this sentiment once pervaded the whole of mediæval Christendom, of which the history was, in fact, inaugurated through the coronation of Charlemagne by Pope Leo III., in the year 800. The rite represented the two opposite aspects of

¹ A.D. 571. (Martene, *De Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus*, ii. 213.) It was performed by a benediction and imposition of hands—at the command, it was said, and under the lash of an angel, who appeared in a vision to Columba. (Reeves' *Adamnan*, 197–199.)

² Maskell's *Monumenta Ritualia*, iii. p. lxxvii. The form of the Coronation of Ethelred II. is given in Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*, ii. 172.

³ See Selden's *Titles of Honour*, pp. 177, 189; Maskell, iii. p. xiv.

European monarchy. On the one hand, it was a continuation of the old German usage of popular election, and of the pledge given by the sovereign to preserve the rights of his people—in part, perhaps, of the election of the Roman Emperors by the Imperial Guard.¹ Of this aspect two traces still remain: the recognition of the sovereign at the demand of the Archbishop, and the Coronation oath imposed as a guarantee of the popular and legal rights of the subjects. On the other hand, partly as a means of resisting the claims of the electors, it was a solemn consecration by the hands of an abbot² or a bishop. The unction with the gift of a crown, suggested doubtless by the ceremonies observed in the case of some of the Jewish kings,³ was unknown in the older Empire. It first began⁴ with Charlemagne.⁵ The sacred oil was believed to convey to the sovereign a spiritual jurisdiction⁶ and inalienable sanctity:

Not all the water in the rough rude sea
Can wash the balm from an anointed king.

A white coif was left on his head seven days, to allow the oil to settle into its place, and was then solemnly taken off.⁷ This unction was believed to be the foundation of the title, reaching back to the days of King Ina, of 'Dei Gratia.'⁸ By its virtue every consecrated king was admitted a canon of some cathedral church.⁹ They were clothed for the moment in the garb of bishops.¹⁰ The 'Veni Creator Spiritus' was sung over them as over bishops. At first five sovereigns alone received the full consecration—the Emperor,¹¹ and the Kings of France, England, Jerusalem, and Sicily. And, though this sacred circle was

¹ The Earls Palatine in England wore the sword to show that they had authority to correct the King. (Holinshed, A.D. 1236.)

² The benediction of the Abbot rather than the Bishop prevailed in the Celtic tribes both of Ireland and Scotland. (See Reeves' *Adamnan*, 199.)

³ See *Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church*, ii. 18, 48, 331, 397.

⁴ Charlemagne is described as having been anointed from head to foot. (Martene, ii. 204.) In like manner, in English history, on more than one occasion the King is described as having been stripped from the waist upwards, in the presence of the whole congregation, in order that the sacred

oil might flow freely over his person. (Hoveden, A.D. 1189. Roger of Wendover, *ibid.*; Grafton, *Cont. of Har-dyng*, p. 517; Maskell, iii. p. xv.)

⁵ Selden's *Titles of Honour*, p. 237.

⁶ 33 Edward III. § 103.

⁷ Maskell, iii. p. xxi.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. xiii.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. xvi.

¹⁰ Taylor, p. 81. ' . . . Lyke as a Bysshop shuld say masse, with a dalmatyk and a stole about his necke. And also as hosyn and shone and copys and gloves lyke a bysshop. . . ' (Maskell, iii. p. liii., speaking of Henry VI.'s coronation.)

¹¹ Taylor, p. 37.

constantly enlarged by the ambition of the lesser princes, and at last included almost all, the older sovereigns long retained a kind of peculiar dignity.¹

A King, therefore, without a coronation was regarded almost as, by strict ecclesiologists, a bishop-elect would be regarded before his consecration, or a nonconformist minister without episcopal ordination.² Hence the political importance of the scenes which we shall have to describe. Hence the haste (the indecent haste, as it seems to modern feeling) with which the new king seized the crown, sometimes before the dead king was buried. Hence the appointment of the high state officer, who acted as viceroy between the demise of one sovereign and the inauguration of another, and whose duty it was, as it still is in form, to preside at the coronations—the Lord High *Steward*, the ‘*Steadward*,’ or ‘*Ward of the King’s Stead or Place*.’ Hence the care with which the chroniclers note the good or evil omen of the exact day on which the coronation took place. Hence the sharp contests which raged between the ecclesiastics who claimed the right of sharing in the ceremony. Hence, lastly, the dignity of the place where the act was performed.

The traditionary spot of the first coronation of a British sovereign is worthy of the romantic legend which enshrines his name. Arthur was crowned at Stonehenge,³ which had been transported by Merlin for the purpose to Salisbury Plain from Naas in Leinster. Of the Saxon Kings, seven, from Edward the Elder to Ethelred (A.D. 900–971), were crowned on the King’s Stone⁴ by the first ford of the Thames. The Danish Hardicanute was believed to have been crowned at Oxford. But the selection of a church as the usual scene of the rite naturally followed from its religious character. A throng of bishops always attended. The celebration of the Communion

¹ What marks the more than ceremonial character of the act is the distinction drawn between the coronation of the actual sovereigns and their consorts. The Queens of France were crowned, not at Reims, but at St. Denys (Taylor, p. 50). Of the Queens-Consort of England, out of seventeen since the time of Henry VIII., only six have been crowned (Argument of the Attorney-General before the Privy Council, July 7, 1821, in the case of *Queen Caroline*). The Anglo-Saxon Queens were deprived of the right in

the ninth century, by the crimes of Eadburga, but Judith, Queen of Ethelwulf, regained it. (Maskell, iii. p. xxiv.)

² Many Bretons maintained that Louis Philippe, not having been crowned, had no more right to exercise the right of royalty than a priest not ordained could exercise the sacerdotal functions. (Renan, *Questions Contemporaines*, 434.)

³ Rishanger, *Annals*, p. 425; *Giraldus Cambrensis*, Dist. ii. 18.

⁴ Still to be seen in the marketplace of Kingston-on-Thames.

always formed part of it.¹ The day, if possible, was Sunday, or some high festival.² The general seat of the Saxon coronations, accordingly, was the sanctuary of the House of Cerdic—the cathedral of Winchester. When they were crowned in London it was at St. Paul's. There at least was the coronation of Canute. It is doubtful whether Harold was crowned at St. Paul's³ or Westminster.⁴ From the urgent necessity of the crisis, the ceremony took place on the same day as the Confessor's funeral. All was haste and confusion. Stigand, the last Saxon primate, was present.⁵ But it would seem that Harold placed the crown on his own head.⁶

1. The coronation of Duke William in the Abbey is, however, undoubted. Whether the right of the Abbey to the coronation of the sovereigns entered into the Confessor's designs depends on the genuineness of his Charters. Coronation
of William
the Con-
queror. But, in any case, William's selection of this spot for the most important act of his life sprang directly from regard to the Confessor's memory. To be crowned beside the grave of the last hereditary Saxon king, was the direct fulfilment of the whole plan of the Conqueror, or 'Conquestor;' that is, the inheritor,⁷ not by victory but by right, of the throne of 'his predecessor King Edward.'⁸

The time was to be Christmas Day⁹—doubtless because on that high festival, as on the other two of Easter and Whitsuntide, the Anglo-Saxon kings had appeared in state, re-enacting, as it were, their original coronations. Monday,
Dec. 25,
1066.

'Two nations were indeed in the womb' of the Abbey on that day. Within the massive freshly-erected walls was the Saxon populace of London, intermixed with the retainers of the Norman camp and court. Outside sate the Norman soldiers on their war-horses, eagerly watching for any disturbance in the interior. The royal workmen had been sent into London a few

¹ Maskell, iii. p. xxxix.—The breaking of the fast, immediately after the Communion, was in the retiring-place by St. Edward's Shrine in the Abbey. (Ibid. p. lvi.)

² *Liber Regalis*; Maskell, iii. p. lxiv. 'A Peace of God' succeeded for eight days. (Ibid. p. lxvi.)

³ Brompton, c. 958; Rishanger's *Annals*, p. 427. William of Malmesbury (*De Gest. Pont.* li. 1) implies that the Conqueror's coronation was the first that took place in the Abbey.

⁴ *Relatio de Origine Will. Cong.* p. 4. (Giles, *Script. Rer. Gest. Will. Cong.* 1845.)

⁵ Bayeux Tapestry.

⁶ Brompton, c. 958; Rishanger's *Annals*, p. 427; Matthew of Westminster, p. 221.

⁷ The Bayeux Tapestry is devoted to the proof of this right.

⁸ Charter of Battle Abbey.

⁹ Midwinter Day. (Raine's *Archbishops of York*, i. 144.) It was also the day of Charlemagne's coronation.

days before, to construct the mighty fortress of the Tower, which henceforth was to overawe the city.¹ Before the high altar, standing on the very gravestone of Edward, was the fierce, huge, unwieldy William, the exact contrast of the sensitive transparent King who lay beneath his feet. On either side stood an Anglo-Saxon and a Norman prelate. The Norman was Godfrey, Bishop of Coutances; the Saxon was Aldred, Archbishop of York, holding in his own hand the golden crown, of Byzantine workmanship, wrought by Guy of Amiens. Stigand of Canterbury, the natural depositary of the rite of Coronation, had fled to Scotland. Aldred, with that worldly prudence which characterised his career, was there, making the most of the new opportunity, and thus established over William an influence which no other ecclesiastic of the time, not even Hildebrand, was able to gain.² The moment arrived for the ancient form of popular election. The Norman prelate was to address in French those who could not speak English; the Saxon primate was to address in English those who could not speak French. A confused acclamation arose from the mixed multitude. The Norman cavalry without, hearing but not understanding this peculiarity of the Saxon institution, took alarm, and set fire to the gates of the Abbey, and perhaps the thatched dwellings which surrounded it.³ The crowd—nobles and poor, men and women—alarmed in their turn, rushed out. The prelates and monks were left alone with William in the church, and in the solitude of that wintry day, amidst the cries of his new subjects, trampled down by the horses' hoofs of their conquerors, he himself, for the first time in his life, trembling from head to foot, the remainder of the ceremony was hurried on. Aldred, in the name of the Saxons, exacted from him the oath to protect them before he would put the crown on his head.⁴ Thus ended the first undoubted Westminster coronation. William kept up the remembrance of it, according to the Saxon custom, by a yearly solemn appearance,

¹ William of Poitiers, A.D. 1066.

² See Chapter I.—An instance of this occurred in the Abbey a few years later. Aldred came up to London to remonstrate with William for a plundering expedition in Yorkshire. He found the King in the Abbey, and attacked him publicly. The King fell at his feet, trembling. The officers of the court tried to push the Archbishop

away, but he persisted, and would not leave the place without a full apology. (Stubbs, c. 1703-4; Brompton, c. 962.) See also, for a different account, William of Malmesbury, *De Gest. Pont.* p. 271.

³ *Ord. Vit.* A.D. 1065; William of Malmesbury, p. 184; Palgrave's *Normandy*, iii. 379.

⁴ Saxon Chronicle (A.D. 1066).

with the crown on his head, at the chief festivals. But, perhaps from the recollection of this disastrous beginning, the Christmas coronation was not at Westminster, but at Worcester; Easter was still celebrated at the old Saxon capital of Winchester; and Whitsuntide only was observed in London, but whether at St. Paul's or the Abbey is not stated.¹

From this time forward the ceremony of the coronation has been inalienably attached to the Abbey. Its connection with the grave of the Confessor was long preserved, even in its minutest forms. The Regalia were strictly Anglo-Saxon, by their traditional names: the crown of Alfred or of St. Edward for the King,² the crown of Edith, wife of the Confessor, for the Queen. The sceptre with the dove was the reminiscence of Edward's peaceful days after the expulsion of the Danes. The gloves were a perpetual reminder of his abolition of the Dane-gelt—a token that the King's hands should be moderate in taking taxes.³ The ring with which as the Doge to the Adriatic, so the king to his people was wedded, was the ring of the pilgrim.⁴ The Coronation robe of Edward was solemnly exhibited in the Abbey twice a year, at Christmas and on the festival of its patron saints,⁵ St. Peter and St. Paul. The 'great stone chalice,' which was borne by the Chancellor to the altar, and out of which the Abbot of Westminster administered the sacramental wine, was believed to have been prized at a high sum 'in Saint Edward's days.'⁶ If after the anointing the King's hair was not smooth, there was 'King Edward's ivory comb for that end.'⁷ The form of the oath, retained till the time of James II., was to observe 'the laws of the glorious Confessor.'⁸ A copy of the Gospels, purporting to have belonged to Athelstane, was the book which was handed down as that on which, for centuries, the coronation-oath had been taken.⁹ On the arras hung round the choir, at least from the thirteenth century, was the representation of the ceremony,¹⁰ with words which remind us of the analogous inscription in St. John Lateran, expressive of the peculiar privileges of the place—

The connection of the Coronations with the Abbey.

The Regalia, as connected with the Confessor.

¹ Rudbourn (*Anglia Sacra*, i. 259).

² Spelman's *History of Alfred*.
(Planché's *Regal Records*, p. 64.)

³ The 'orb' appears in the Bayeux Tapestry.

⁴ Planché, p. 85; Mill's *Catalogue of Honours*, p. 86; Fuller, ii. §§ 16, 26.

⁵ Ware's *Consuetudines*.

⁶ Maskell, iii. p. lxx.

⁷ State Papers, Feb. 2, 1625–26.

⁸ Taylor, 85.

⁹ *Gent. Mag.* 1838, p. 471

¹⁰ Weever, p. 45.

Hanc regum sedem, ubi Petrus consecrat ædem,
Quam tu, Papa, regis; ¹ inungit et unctio regis.

The Church of Westminster was called, in consequence, 'the head, crown, and diadem of the kingdom.'²

The Regalia were kept in the Treasury of Westminster entirely till the time of Henry VIII., and the larger part till the time of the Commonwealth, when (in 1642) they were broken to pieces.³ But the new Regalia, after the Restoration, were still called by the same names; and, though permanently kept in the Tower, are still, by a shadowy connection with the past, placed under the custody of the Dean before each coronation.

The Abbot of Westminster was the authorised instructor to prepare each new King for the solemnities of the coronation as if for confirmation; visiting him two days before, to inform him of the observances, and to warn him to shrive and cleanse his conscience before the holy anointing.⁴ If he was ill, the Prior (as now the Sub-dean) took his place.⁵ He also was charged with the singular office of administering the chalice to the King and Queen, as a sign of their conjugal unity, after their reception of the sacrament from the Archbishop.⁶ The Convent on that day was to be provided, at the royal expense, with '100 simnals (that is, cakes) of the best bread, a gallon of wine, and as many fish as become the royal dignity.'

These privileges have, so far as altered times allow, descended to the Protestant Deans. The Dean and Canons of Westminster, alone of the clergy of England, stand by the side of the Prelates. On them, and not on the Bishops, devolves the duty, if such there be, of consecrating the sacred oil.⁷ The Dean has still the charge of the '*Liber Regalis*,' containing the ancient Order of the Service. It is still his duty to direct the sovereign in the details of the Service. Even the assent of the people of England to the election of the sovereign has found its

¹ Alluding to its exemption from the jurisdiction of the see of London. See Chapter V.

² *Liber Regalis*; Maskell, iii. p. xlvii.

³ Taylor, p. 94; see Chapters V. and VI.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 134; *Liber Regalis*; Maskell, p. lxvi.

⁵ *Liber Regalis*.

⁶ *Ibid.*; Maskell, iii. p. xlv.

⁷ Maskell, iii. p. xxii. See Sandford's account of the Coronation of James II. p. 91. In Charles I.'s time the King's physicians prepared it; and Laud (who was at that time Bishop of St. David's as well as Prebendary of Westminster) 'hollowed' it on the high altar. (State Papers, Feb. 2, 1625-6.)

voice, in modern days, through the shouts of the Westminster scholars, from their recognised seats in the Abbey.¹

If by the circumstances of the Conqueror's accession the Abbey was selected as the perpetual place of the coronations, so by the same circumstances it became subject to the one intrusion into its peculiar privileges. It was now that the ecclesiastical minister of the coronation was permanently fixed. Neither the Abbot of Westminster nor (as might have been expected from his share in the first coronation) the Archbishop of York could maintain his ground against the overwhelming influence of the first Norman primate. Lanfranc pointed out to William, that if the Archbishops of York were allowed to confer the crown, they might be tempted to give it to some Scot or Dane, elected by the rebel Saxons of the north;² and that to avoid this danger, they should be for ever excluded from the privilege which belonged to Canterbury only. In the absence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the privilege was to belong, not to York, but to London.³ From that time, accordingly, with three exceptions, the Primate of Canterbury has been always the chief ecclesiastic at the coronations.⁴ On that occasion, only, these prelates take their places, as by right, in the Choir of the Abbey; and the Archbishop of York has been obliged to remain content with the inferior and accidental office of crowning the Queen-Consort, which had been performed by Aldred for Queen Matilda two years after the Conqueror's coronation.⁵

The right of the Archbishops of Canterbury.

Coronation of Matilda, Whit Sunday, May 11, 1067.

2. The arrangement of Lanfranc immediately came into operation. William Rufus—whose fancy for Westminster manifested itself in the magnificent Hall, which was to be but as a bedchamber to the 'New Palace' meditated by him in the future⁶—naturally

Coronation of William Rufus, Sunday, September 26, 1087.

¹ Sandford's *James II.*, p. 83; Maskell, iii. pp. xlvii., xlviii.

² Kadmer, c. 3; Lanfranc, 306, 378; Stubbs, c. 1706 (Thierry, ii. 146); Hugh Sotevagine (Raine, i. 147).

³ Rudbourn (*Anglia Sacra*, i. 248).

⁴ But by 1 W. and M. c. 6, it is now enacted 'that the coronation may be performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Archbishop of York, or either of them, or any other bishop whom the King's Majesty shall appoint.' The claim of the Archbishop of Canterbury to marry royal personages

rests on the theory that the Kings and Queens are always *parishioners* of the see of Canterbury: hence the protest of the nobles against the claim of the Bishop of Salisbury to marry Henry I., on the ground that the castle of Windsor was in the diocese of Salisbury. (Maskell, iii. p. lxii.)

⁵ Raine, i. 144; Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1067.

⁶ Lainé (*Archives de la Noblesse de France*, v. 57) says Turlogh O'Brian, King of Ireland, presented William Rufus with Irish oak for the roof of

followed the precedent of his father's coronation in the Abbey; and as the Norman Godfrey and the Saxon Aldred had lent their joint sanction to the Conqueror's coronation, so his own was inaugurated by the presence of the first Norman primate, with the one remaining Saxon bishop Wulfstan.¹

3. The coronation of Henry I. illustrates the importance attached to the act. He lost not a moment. Within four days of his brother's death in the New Forest, he was in Westminster Abbey, claiming the election of the nobles and the consecration of the prelates.² 'At that time the present providing of good swords was accounted more essential to a king's coronation than the long preparing of gay clothes. Such preparatory pomp as was used in after-ages for the ceremony was now conceived not only useless but dangerous, speed being safest to supply the vacancy of the throne.'³ Anselm, the Archbishop of Canterbury, was absent; and here, therefore, Lanfranc's provision was adopted, and Maurice, Bishop of London, acted in his stead. Thomas, Archbishop of York, who had made a desperate effort to recover the lost privileges of his see at Anselm's consecration, was at Ripon when the tidings of William's death reached him. He, like Henry, but for a different reason, hurried up to London. But Winchester was nearer than Ripon, and the King was already crowned.⁴ The disappointment of the northern Primate was met by various palliatives. The King and the prelates pleaded haste. Some of the chroniclers represent that he joined in the ceremony, giving the crown after Maurice had given the unction.⁵ But in fact the privilege was gone.

The compact between Henry and the electors was more marked than in any previous Norman coronation. He promised everything, except the one thing which he declared that he could not do, namely, to give up the forests of game which he

the Abbey of Westminster. But this is probably a confusion for the *Palace* of Westminster. (See Mac Geoghan's *Histoire d'Irlande*, i. 426.) The oak is from the oak woods of Shillela, which stood till 1760. (Young's *Travels in Ireland*, i. 125.)

¹ Rudbourn (*Anglia Sacra*, i. 263).

² Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1100; Florence of Worcester, ii. 46; Malmesbury, v.; Brompton, c. 997.

³ Palgrave's *Normandy*, iv. 686.

⁴ Fuller, iii. 1, § 41.

⁵ Hugh the Cantor. (Raine, i. 153.)

⁶ Rudbourn (*Anglia Sacra*, i. 273); Diceto, c. 498; *Chronicle of Peterborough* (Giles), p. 69; Walsingham (*Hypodigma Neustriæ*, p. 443). Raine, *Ordericus Vitalis* (book x. i. 153), accounts for his absence by supposing him to have died before.

had received from his father.¹ A yet more important coronation than his own, in the eyes of the Saxon population, was that of his wife Matilda. 'Never since the Battle of Hastings had there been such a joyous day as when Queen Maude, the descendant of Alfred, was crowned in the Abbey and feasted in the Great Hall.'² The ceremony was performed, according to some,³ by Anselm; according to others, by Gerard,⁴ at that time Bishop of Hereford, but on the very eve of mounting the throne of York. Either from his timely presence at the coronation of Henry, or from a confusion with this coronation, he was believed to have crowned the King himself, and as a reward for his services to have claimed the next archbishopric. When the vacancy occurred at the end of the year, Henry tried, it was said, to buy him off by offering to make the income of Hereford equal to that of the Primates, and its rank to that of Durham. But Gerard held the King to his word, and became the rival—often the successful rival—of Anselm.⁵

4. Stephen, in securing 'the regalising and legalising virtue of the crown,'⁶ was, from the necessities of his position, hardly less precipitate than his predecessor. Henry I. died, of his supper of lampreys, on December 1; and whilst he still lay unburied in France, Stephen—with the devotion to favourite days then so common—chose December 26, the feast of his own saint, Stephen, for the day of the ceremony. The prelates approved the act; the Pope went out of his way to sanction it.⁷ But the coronation teemed with omens of the misfortunes which thickened round the unhappy King. It was observed that the Archbishop, whose consent was directly in defiance of his oath to Maude,⁸ died within the year, and that the magnates who assisted all perished miserably.⁹ It was remarked that the Host given at the Communion suddenly disappeared,¹⁰ and that the customary kiss of peace was forgotten.¹¹

5. The coronation of Henry II. was the first peaceful in-

¹ Palgrave's *Normandy*, iv. 730.

² *Ibid.* iv. 719-722; see Chapter III.

³ Symeon (c. 226).

⁴ *Orderic. Vit.* book x.

⁵ Raine, i. 159, 160.

⁶ I owe this expression to a striking description of this incident in an unpublished letter of Professor Vaughan.

⁷ Thierry, ii. 393, 394.

⁸ *Gesta Stephani*, p. 7. See the whole case in Hook's *Archbishops*, ii. 318.

⁹ Rudbourn (*Anglia Sacra*, i. 284).

¹⁰ Knyghton, c. 2384; Brompton, c. 1023.

¹¹ Gervas, c. 1340; Hoveden, 481.

auguration of a King that the Abbey had witnessed. In it the Saxon population saw the fulfilment of the Confessor's prophecy, and the Normans rejoiced in the termination of their own civil war. Theobald of Canterbury presided, but with the assistance of the Archbishop of Rouen and the Archbishop of York, who was a personal friend of Theobald.¹ It was a momentary union of the two rival sees, soon to be broken by blows, and curses, and blood,—of which the next coronation in the Abbey was the ill-fated beginning.

Coronation
of Henry II.
Dec. 19,
1154.

The King in his later years, determined to secure the succession, by providing that his eldest son Henry should be crowned during his lifetime. In his own case the ceremony of consecration had been repeated several times.² The coronation took place in the Abbey, during the height of the King's quarrel with Becket. Accordingly, as the Primate of Canterbury was necessarily absent, the Primate of York took his place. It was the same Roger of Bishopsbridge who had assisted at Henry's own inauguration. To fortify him in his precarious position, the Bishops of London, Durham, Salisbury, and Rochester were also present;³ and the young Prince who was crowned by them rose, under the name of Henry III.,⁴ at once to the full pride of an actual sovereign. When his father appeared behind him at the coronation banquet, the Prince remarked, 'The son of an Earl may well wait on the son of a King!' His wife, the French princess, was afterwards crowned with him at Winchester, by French bishops.⁵

And of his
son Henry,
June 14,
1170.

Perhaps no event—certainly no coronation—in Westminster Abbey ever led to more disastrous consequences. 'Ex hac consecratione, potius execratione, provenerunt, detestandi eventus.'⁶—'From this consecration, say rather execration,' followed directly the anathema of Becket on the three chief prelates, the invaders of the inalienable prerogative of the see of Canterbury, and, as the result of that anathema, the murder of Becket, by the rude avengers of the rights of the see of York; indirectly, the strong reaction in favour of the clerical party; and, according to popular belief, the untimely death of

¹ Baine, i. 234.

² Maskell, iii. pp. xviii., xix.

³ Benedict, A.D. 1170.

⁴ See *Memorials of Canterbury*, p.

63. Richard of Devizes (i. §1) calls

Richard I. brother of *Henry III.*

⁵ Taylor, 247.

⁶ *Annals of Margan*, p. 16 (A.D. 1170). *Memorials of Canterbury*, c. 2.

the young Prince Henry himself, the tragical quarrels of his brothers, and the unhappy end of his father.

6. With the coronation of Richard I. we have the first detailed account of the ceremonial, as continued to be celebrated: the procession from the Palace to the Abbey—the ^{Coronation} spurs, the swords, the sceptre—the Bishops of ^{of Richard I.} Durham and Bath (then first mentioned in this capacity) supporting the King on the right and left—the oath—the anointing, for which he was stripped to his shirt and drawers¹—the crown, taken by the King himself from the altar, and given to the Archbishop. There was an unusual array of magnates. The King's mother and his brother John were present, and the primate was assisted by the Archbishops of Rouen, Tours, and Dublin: the Archbishop of York was absent.²

The day was, however, marked by disasters highly characteristic of the age. It was on September 3, a day fraught with associations fatal to the English monarchy in a later ^{Sept. 3, 1189.} age, but already at this time marked by astrologers as ill-omened, or what was called 'an Egyptian day.'³ Much alarm was caused during the ceremony by the appearance of a bat, 'in the middle and bright part of the day,' fluttering through the church, 'inconveniently circling in the same tracks, 'and especially round the King's throne.' Another evil augury, 'hardly allowable to be related even in a whisper,' was the peal of bells at the last hour of the day, without any agreement or knowledge of the ministers of the Abbey.⁴

But the most serious portent must be told in the dreadful language of the chronicler himself: 'On that solemn hour in 'which the Son was immolated to the Father, a sacrifice of the Jews to their father the devil was com- ^{The Jews.} menced in the City of London; and so long was the duration 'of the famous mystery, that the holocaust could hardly be accomplished on the ensuing day.'⁵ It seems that on previous coronations the Jews of London had penetrated into the Abbey and Palace to witness the pageant. The King and the more orthodox nobles were apprehensive that they came there to exercise a baleful influence by their enchantments. In consequence, a royal proclamation the day before expressly forbade

¹ Benedict, A.D. 1189.

² Hoveden, A.D. 1189.

³ Ibid. There were two such in each month, supposed to be proscribed

by the Egyptians as unwholesome for bleeding.

⁴ Richard of Devizes, A.D. 1189.

⁵ Ibid.

the intrusion of Jews or witches into the royal presence. They were kept out of the Abbey, but their curiosity to see the banquet overcame their prudence. Some of their chief men were discovered. The nobles, in rage or terror, flew upon them, stripped off their clothes, and beat them almost to death. Two curious stories were circulated, one by the Christians, another by the Jews. It was said that one of the Jews, Benedict¹ of York, to save his life, was baptized 'William,' after a godfather invited for the occasion, the Prior of St. Mary's, in his native city of York. The next day he was examined by the King as to the reality of his conversion, and had the courage to confess that it was by mere compulsion. The King turned to the prelates who were standing by, and asked what was to be done with him. The Archbishop, 'less discreetly than he ought,' replied, 'If he does not wish to be a man of God, let him remain a man of the devil.'² The Jewish story is not less characteristic. The King in the banquet had asked, 'What is this noise to-day?' The doorkeeper answered, 'Nothing; only the boys rejoice and are merry at heart.' When the true state of the case was known, the doorkeeper was dragged to death at the tails of horses. 'Blessed be God, who giveth vengeance! Amen.'³ But, however the King's own temper might have been softened, a general massacre and plunder amongst the Jewish houses took place in London, 'and the other cities and towns' (especially York) 'emulated the faith of the Londoners, and with a like devotion despatched their bloodsuckers with blood to hell. Winchester alone, the people being prudent and circumspect, and the city always acting mildly, spared its vermin. It never did anything over-speedily. Fearing nothing more than to repent, it considers the result of everything beforehand, temperately concealing its uneasiness, till it shall be possible at a convenient time to cast out the whole cause of the disease at once and for ever.'⁴ Such was the coronation of the most chivalrous of English Kings. So truly did Sir Walter Scott catch the whole spirit of the age in his description of Front de Bœuf's interview with Isaac of York. Such could be the Christianity, and such the Judaism, of the Middle Ages.

On his return from his captivity, Richard was crowned

¹ Probably 'Baruch.'

² Benedict, A.D. 1189.

³ The Chronicles of Rabbi Joseph

(Bialloblotzky, i. 196, 197). Chapters on Coronations, 148.

⁴ Richard of Devizes, A.D. 1189.

again at Winchester, as if to reassure his subjects. This was the last trace of the old Saxon regal character of Winchester.¹ He submitted very reluctantly to this re-
Richard's
second Coro-
nation, 1194.
petition;² but the reinvestiture in the coronation robes was considered so important, that in these he was ultimately buried.

7. John was crowned on Ascension Day³—the same fatal festival as that which the soothsayer afterwards predicted as the end of his reign. On this occasion, in order to
Coronation
of John.
exclude the rights of Arthur, the son of John's eldest brother Godfrey, the elective, as distinct from the hereditary, character of the monarchy was brought out in the strongest terms. At a later period Archbishop Hubert gave as his reason for scrupulously adopting all the forms of election on
Ascension
Day, May
27, 1199.
that day, that, foreseeing the King's violent career, he had wished to place every lawful check on his despotic passions.⁴ Geoffrey, the Archbishop of York, was absent, and, on his behalf, the Bishop of Durham⁵ protested, but in vain, against Hubert's sole celebration of the ceremony.⁶

A peculiar function was now added. As a reward for the readiness with which the Cinque Ports had assisted John, in his unfortunate voyages to and from Normandy, their
The Cinque
Ports.
five Barons were allowed henceforward to carry the canopy over the King as he went to the Abbey, and to hold it over him when he was unclothed for the sacred unction. They had already established their place at the right hand of the King at the banquet, as a return for their successful guardianship of the Channel against invaders; the Conqueror alone had escaped them.⁷

8. The disastrous reign of John brought out the sole instance, if it be an instance, of a coronation apart from Westminster. On Henry III.'s accession the Abbey was in
First Coro-
nation of
Henry III.
St. Simon
and St.
Jude, Oct.
23, 1216.
the hands of Prince Louis of France, Shakspeare's 'Dauphin.' He was, accordingly, crowned in the Abbey of Gloucester, by the Bishop of Winchester, in the presence of Gualo the Legate; but without unction or imposition of hands, lest the rights of Canterbury should be infringed, and with a chaplet or garland rather than a crown.⁸

¹ Richard of Devizes, A.D. 1194.

² M. Paris, 176. See Chapter III.

³ Hoveden, 793.

⁴ M. Paris, 197.

⁵ Hoveden, 793; Maskell, iii. p.

lviii.

⁶ He was afterwards crowned at Canterbury with his Queen, Isabella. (Hoveden, 818; *Ann. Margan*, A.D. 1201.)

⁷ Ridgway, p. 141.

⁸ Possibly this might be from John's

At the same time, with that inconsistency which pervades the history of so many of our legal ceremonies, an edict was issued that for a whole month no lay person, male or female, should appear in public without a chaplet, in order to certify that the King was really crowned.¹ So strong, however, was the craving for the complete formalities of the inauguration, that, as soon as Westminster was restored to the King, he was again crowned

Second Co-
ronation of
Henry III.
Whitsun-
day, May 17,
1220.

there in state, on Whitsunday, by Stephen Langton,² having the day before laid the foundation of the new Lady Chapel,³ the germ of the present magnificent church. The feasting and joviality was such that the oldest man present could remember nothing like it at any previous coronation.⁴ It was a kind of triumphal close to the dark reign of John. The young King himself, impressed probably by his double coronation, asked the great theologian of that time, Grossetete, Bishop of Lincoln, the difficult question, 'What was the precise grace wrought in a King by the unction?' The bishop answered, with some hesitation, that it was the sign of the King's special reception of the sevenfold gifts of the Spirit, 'as in Confirmation.'⁵

One alteration Henry III. effected for future coronations, which implies a slight declension of the sense of their importance. The office of Lord High Steward (the temporary Viceroy between the late King's demise and the new King's inauguration), which had been hereditary in the house of Simon de Montfort, was on his death abolished—partly, perhaps, from a dislike of De Montfort's encroachments, partly to check the power of so formidable a potentate. Henceforward the office was merely created for the occasion. The coronation of his Queen Eleanor of Provence was observed with great state.⁶ But a curious incident marred the splendour of the coronation banquet. Its presiding officer, the hereditary Chief Butler, Hugh de Albini, was absent, having been excommunicated by

Abolition of
the Lord
High
Stewardship.

Coronation
of Eleanor
of Provence,
Jan. 23,
1236.

crown having been lost in the Wash. (Pauli, i. 489.)

¹ Capgrave's *Henries*, p. 87.—Henry IV. of France, in like manner, was crowned at Chartres, instead of Reims, from the occupation of that city by the opposite faction.

² See Hook's *Archbishops*, ii. 735.

³ See Chapter III.

⁴ Bouquet. *Rer. Gallic. Script.* xviii. 186.

⁵ *Epistole*, § 124, p. 350 (ed. Luard). He adds a caution, founded on Judah's concession in the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, that it did not equal the royal to the sacerdotal dignity.

⁶ Matthew Paris, 350.

the Archbishop of Canterbury, for refusing to let the Primate hunt in his Sussex forest.¹

9. The long interval between the accession of Edward I. and his coronation (owing to his absence in the Holy Land) reduced it more nearly to the level of a mere ceremony than it had ever been before. He was also the first sovereign who discontinued the commemoration of the event in wearing the crown in state at the three festivals.² But in itself it was a peculiarly welcome day, as the return from his perilous journey. It was the first coronation in the Abbey as it now appears, bearing the fresh marks of his father's munificence. He and his beloved Eleanor appeared together, the first King and Queen who had been jointly crowned. His mother, the elder Eleanor, was present. Archbishop Kilwarby officiated as Primate.⁴ On the following day Alexander III. of Scotland, whose armorial bearings were hung in the Choir of the Abbey, did homage.⁵ For the honour of so martial a king, 500 great horses—on some of which Edward and his brother Edmund, with their attendants, had ridden to the banquet—were let loose among the crowd, any one to take them for his own as he could.⁶

Coronation
of Edward I.
and Eleanor,
Aug. 19,
1274.

There was, however, another change effected in the coronations by Edward, which, unlike most of the incidents related in this chapter, has a direct bearing on the Abbey itself. Besides the ceremonies of unction and coronation, which properly belonged to the consecration of the kings, there was one more closely connected with the original practice of election—that of raising the sovereign aloft into an elevated seat.⁷ In the Frankish tribes, as also in the Roman Empire, this was done by a band of warriors lifting the chosen chief on their shields, of which a trace lingered in the French coronations, in raising the King to the top of the screen between the choir and nave. But the more ordinary usage,

The Coronation
Stone.

The Installation
of the
Kings.

¹ 'De officio pincernarum servivit eadem Comes Warren' vice Hugonis de Albiniaco Comitibus de Arundel ad quem '[nunc] illud officium spectat. Fuit autem idem . . . eo tempore sententia excommunicationis innodatus a Cant' eo quod cum fugare fecisset Archiepiscopus in forestam dicti Hugonis in Suthsex idem Hugo canes suos cepit. Dicit autem Archiepiscopus hoc esse jus suum fugandi in quolibet foresta Angliæ quando-

'cunque voluerit.' Red Book of the Exchequer (f. 232). He was under age. Matthew Paris (p. 421).

² Camden's *Remains*, 338.

³ Close Roll, 2 Edw. I. m. 5.

⁴ Hook, iii. 311.

⁵ Trivet, p. 292. See Chapter III.

⁶ Stow's *Annals*; Knyghton, c. 2461. (Pauli, ii. 12.)

⁷ So *Liber Regalis*. See Maskell, iii. p. xlviii.

amongst the Gothic and Celtic races, was to place him on a huge natural stone, which had been, or was henceforth, invested with a magical sanctity. On such a stone, the 'great stone' (*mora-sten*), still visible on the grave of Odin near Upsala, were inaugurated the Kings of Sweden till the time of Gustavus Vasa. Such a chair and stone, for the Dukes of Carinthia, is still to be seen at Zollfell.¹ Seven stone seats for the Emperor and his Electors mark the spot where the Lahn joins the Rhine at Lahnstein. On such a mound the King of Hungary appears, sword in hand, at Presburg or Pesth. On such stones decrees were issued in the republican states of Torcello, Venice, and Verona. On a stone like these, nearer home, was placed the Lord of the Isles. The stones on which the Kings of Ireland were crowned were, even down to Elizabeth's time, believed to be the inviolable pledges of Irish independence. One such remains near Derry, marked with the two cavities in which the feet of the King of Ulster were placed;² another in Monaghan, called the M'Mahon Stone, where the impression of the foot remained till 1809.³ On the King's Stone, as we have seen, beside the Thames, were crowned seven of the Anglo-Saxon kings. And in Westminster itself, by a usage doubtless dating back from a very early period, the Kings, before they passed from the Palace to the Abbey, were lifted to a marble seat, twelve feet long and three feet broad, placed at the upper end of Westminster Hall, and called, from this peculiar dignity, '*The King's Bench*.'⁴

Still there was yet wanting something of this mysterious natural charm in the Abbey itself, and this it was which Edward I. provided. In the capital of the Scottish kingdom was a venerable fragment of rock, to which, at least as early as the fourteenth century, the following legend was attached:—The stony pillar on which Jacob⁵ slept at Bethel was by his countrymen transported to Egypt. Thither came Gathelus, son of Cecrops, King of Athens, and married Scota, daughter of Pharaoh. He and his Egyptian wife, alarmed at

¹ Gilbert and Churchill's *Dolomite Mountains*, p. 483.

² It is now called St. Columb's Stone. The marks of the feet are, according to the legend, imprinted by Columba. But Spenser's statement of the Irish practice (See *Ordnance Survey of Londonderry*, p. 233) leaves no doubt as to their origin.

³ See Shirley's *Farney*, p. 74.

⁴ Taylor, p. 303.—It is mentioned at the coronations of Richard II. and Richard III. (Maskell, iii. pp. xlviii. xlix.)

⁵ Or Abraham. (Rye's *Visits of Foreigners*, p. 10.) For the belief still maintained that the coronation stone is Jacob's pillow, see Jewish Chronicle, June 14, 21, 1872; and an elaborate oration by the Rev. B. Glover.

the fame of Moses, fled with the stone to Sicily or to Spain. From Brigantia, in Spain, it was carried off by Simon Brech,¹ the favourite son of Milo the Scot, to Ireland. It was thrown on the seashore as an anchor; or (for the legend varied at this point) an anchor which was cast out, in consequence of a rising storm, pulled up the stone from the bottom of the sea. On the sacred Hill of Tara it became 'Lia Fail,' the 'Stone of Destiny.' On it the Kings of Ireland were placed. If the chief was a true successor, the stone was silent; if a pretender, it groaned aloud as with thunder.² At this point, where the legend begins to pass into history, the voice of national discord begins to make itself heard. The Irish antiquarians maintain that the true stone long remained on the Hill of Tara. One of the green mounds within that venerable precinct is called the 'Corona-



THE CORONATION STONE.

'tion Chair;' and a rude pillar, now serving as a monument over the graves of the rebels of 1798, is by some³ thought to be the original 'Lia Fail.' But the stream of the Scottish tradition carries us on. Fergus, the founder of the Scottish monarchy, bears the sacred stone across the sea from Ireland to Dunstaffnage. In the vaults of Dunstaffnage Castle a hole is still shown, where it is said to have been laid. With the migration of the Scots eastward, the stone was moved by

¹ Holinshed, *The Historie of Scotland* (1585), p. 31. Weever's *Funeral Monuments*, p. 239.

² Ware's *Antiquities of Ireland* (Harris), 1764, i. 10, 124.—Compare the Llechlafar, or Speaking Stone, in the stream in front of the Cathedral of St. David's. (Jones' and Freeman's

History and Antiquities of St. David's, p. 222.)

³ Petrie's *History and Antiquities of Tara* (*Transactions of Royal Irish Academy*, xviii. pt. 2, pp. 159–161). The name of Fergus is still attached to it.

Kenneth II. (A.D. 840), and planted on a raised plot of ground at Scone, 'because that the last battle with the Picts was there fought.'¹

Whatever may have been the previous wanderings of the relic, at Scone it assumes an unquestionable historical position.

It was there encased in a chair of wood, and stood by
its history. a cross, on the east of the monastic cemetery, on or beside the 'Mount of Belief,' which still exists. In it, or upon it, the Kings of Scotland were placed by the Earls of Fife. From it Scone became the 'Sedes principalis' of Scotland, and the kingdom of Scotland the kingdom of Scone; and hence for many generations Perth, and not Edinburgh, was regarded as the capital city of Scotland.²

Wherever else it may have strayed, there need be no question, at least, of its Scottish origin. Its geological formation is that of the sandstone of the western coasts of Scotland.³ It has the appearance—thus far agreeing with the tradition of Dunstaffnage—of having once formed part of a building. But of all explanations concerning it, the most probable is that which identifies it with the stony pillow on which Columba rested, and on which his dying head was laid in his Abbey of Iona;⁴ and if so it belongs to the minister of the first authentic Western consecration of a Christian Prince⁵—that of the Scottish chief Aidan.

On this precious relic Edward fixed his hold. He had already hung up before the Confessor's Shrine the golden coronet of the last Prince of Wales. It was a still further
its capture. glory to deposit there the very seat of the kingdom of Scotland. On it he himself was crowned King of the Scots.⁶ From the Pope he procured a bull to raze to the ground the rebellious Abbey of Scone, which had once possessed it; and his design was only prevented, as Scotland itself was saved, by his sudden death at Brough-on-the-Sands. Westminster was to be an English Scone. It was his latest care for the Abbey. In that last year of Edward's reign, the venerable

¹ Holinshed's *Hist. Scot.* p. 132.

² The facts respecting Scone and the Scottish coronations I owe to the valuable information of the late lamented Mr. Joseph Robertson of Edinburgh. See Appendix to Chapter II., and Preface to *Statuta Ecclesiæ Scotticane*, p. xxi.

³ This is the result of a careful

examination by Professor Ramsay in 1865.

⁴ For the argument by which this is supported, I must refer to Mr. Robertson's statement. (Appendix.)

⁵ See p. 89.

⁶ *The Life and Acts of Sir William Wallace* (Blind Harry), Aberdeen, 1630 p. 5.

chair, which still encloses it, was made for it by the orders of its captor; the fragment of the world-old Celtic races was embedded in the new Plantagenet oak.¹ The King had originally intended the seat to have been of bronze, and the workman, Adam, had actually begun it. But it was ultimately constructed of wood, and decorated by Walter the painter, who at the same time was employed on the Painted Chamber, and probably on the Chapter House.

The elation of the English King may be measured by the anguish of the Scots. Now that this foundation of their monarchy was gone, they laboured with redoubled energy to procure, what they had never had before, a full religious consecration of their Kings. This was granted to Robert the Bruce, by the Pope, a short time before his death; and his son David, to make up for the loss of the stone, was the first crowned and anointed King of Scotland.² But they still cherished the hope of recovering it. A solemn article in the Treaty of Northampton, which closed the long war between the two countries, required the restoration of the lost relics to Scotland. Accordingly Edward III., then residing at Bardesly, directed his writ, under the Privy Seal, to the Abbot and Convent of Westminster, commanding them to give the stone for this purpose to the Sheriffs of London, who would receive the same from them by indenture,³ and cause it to be carried to the Queen-mother. All the other articles of the treaty were fulfilled. Even 'the Black Rood,' the sacred cross of Holy Rood, which Edward I. had carried off with the other relics, was restored. But 'the Stone of Scone, ^{its retention.} on which the Kings of Scotland used at Scone to be placed on their inauguration, the people of London would by 'no means whatever allow to depart from themselves.'⁴ More than thirty years after, David II. being then old and without male issue, negotiations were begun with Edward III. that one of his sons should succeed to the Scottish crown; and that, in this event, the Royal Stone should be delivered out of England, and he should, after his English coronation, be crowned upon it at Scone.⁵ But these arrangements were never completed. In the Abbey, in spite of treaties

¹ *Gleanings*, p. 125; Neale, ii. 132.

⁴ *Chronicle of Lanercost*, p. 261

² *Statuta Ecclesie Scotice*, Pref. p. xlv.

Maitland, p. 146.

³ *Ayliffe's Calendar of Ancient Charters*, p. lviii.

⁵ *Rymer's Fœdera*, vi. 426.

and negotiations, it remained, and still remains. The affection which now clings to it had already sprung up, and forbade all thought of removing it.

It would seem as if Edward's chief intention had been to present it, as a trophy of his conquest, to the Confessor's Shrine.

On it the priest was to sit when celebrating mass at the altar of St. Edward. The Chair, doubtless, standing where it now stands, but facing, as it naturally would, westward, was then visible down the whole church, like the marble chair of the metropolitanical See at Canterbury in its original position. When the Abbot sate there, on high festivals, it was for him a seat grander than any episcopal throne. The Abbey thus acquired the one feature needed to make it equal to a cathedral—a sacred Chair or Cathedra.

In this chair and on this stone every English sovereign from Edward I. to Queen Victoria has been inaugurated. In this chair Richard II. sits, in the contemporary portrait still preserved in the Abbey. The 'Regale Scotiæ' is expressly named in the coronation of Henry IV.,¹ and 'King Edward's Chair' in the coronation of Mary.² Camden calls it 'the Royal Chair;' and Selden says, 'In it are the coronations of our sovereigns.' When Shakspeare figures the ambitious dreams of the Duchess of Gloucester, they fasten on this august throne.

Methinks I sate in seat of majesty
In the *Cathedral Church* of Westminster,
And in that *Chair* where kings and queens are crowned.³

When James VI. of Scotland became James I. of England, 'the antique regal chair of enthronisation did confessedly receive, with the person of his Majesty, the full accomplishment also of that prophetic prediction of his coming to the crown, which antiquity hath recorded to have been inscribed thereon.'⁴ It was one of those secular predictions

The prediction.

of which the fulfilment cannot be questioned. Whether the prophecy was actually inscribed on the stone may be doubted, though this seems to be implied,⁵ and on the lower side is still visible a groove which may have contained it; but

¹ *Annales Henrici Quarti* (St. Alban's Chronicles. Riley, A.D. 1399), p. 294.

² Shakspeare's *Henry VI.* Part ii. Act i. Sc. ii.

³ Speed, p. 885.

⁴ Boethius, *Hist. Scot.* (Par. 1575), l. 2, § 30.

⁵ Planché, p. 16.

the fact that it was circulated and believed as early as the fourteenth century¹ is certain ;

Ni fallat fatum, Scoti, quocunque locatum
Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.

Once only it has been moved out of the Abbey, and that for an occasion which proves, perhaps more than any other single event since its first capture, the importance attached to it by the rulers and the people of England. When Cromwell was installed as Lord Protector in Westminster Hall, he was placed 'in the Chair of Scotland,' brought out of Westminster Abbey for that singular and special occasion.²

It has continued, probably, the chief object of attraction to the innumerable visitors of the Abbey. 'We were Its interest. then,' says Addison,³ 'conveyed to the two coronation chairs, when my friend, having heard that the The 'Spectator.' stone underneath the most ancient of them, which was brought from Scotland, was called Jacob's Pillow, sate himself down in the chair ; and, looking like the figure of an old Gothic king, asked our interpreter what authority they had to say that Jacob had ever been in Scotland. The fellow, instead of returning him an answer, told him that he hoped his honour would pay the forfeit. I could observe Sir Roger a little ruffled on being thus trepanned ; but, our guide not insisting upon his demand, the knight soon recovered his good humour, and whispered in my ear that if Will Wimble were with us, and saw those two chairs, it would go hard, but he would get 'a tobacco-stopper out of one or t'other of them.'

That is indeed a picture which brings many ages together : —the venerable mediæval throne ; the old-fashioned Tory of the seventeenth century, filled with an unconscious reverence for the past ; the hard-visaged eighteenth century, in the person of the guide, to whom stone and throne and ancient knight were alike indifferent ; the philosophic poet, standing by, with an eye to see and an ear to catch the sentiment and the humour of the whole scene. In the next generation, the harsh indifference had passed from the rude guide into the mouth of the most polished writer of the time. 'Look ye there, gentlemen,'

¹ See Appendix. Fordun, l. i. c. xxviii. Some inscription was upon it in the sixteenth century. (Rye's *Visita of Foreigners*, p. 132.)

² Forster's *Life of Cromwell*, v. 421.

³ *Spectator*, No. 329.

said the attendant to Goldsmith, pointing to an old oak chair ; Goldsmith. 'there's a curiosity for ye ! In that chair the Kings of England were crowned. You see also a stone underneath, and that stone is Jacob's Pillow !' 'I *could see no curiosity* either in the oak chair or the stone : could I, indeed, behold one of the old Kings of England seated in this, or Jacob's head laid on the other, there might be something curious in the sight.'¹ But, in spite of Goldsmith's sneer, the popular interest has been unabated ; and the very disfigurements of the Chair,² scratched over from top to bottom with the names of inquisitive visitors, prove not only the reckless irreverence of the intruders, but also the universal attraction of the relic. It is the one primeval monument which binds together the whole Empire. The iron rings, the battered surface, the crack which has all but rent its solid mass asunder, bear witness to its long migrations.³ It is thus embedded in the heart of the English monarchy—an element of poetic, patriarchal, heathen times, which, like Araunah's rocky threshingfloor in the midst of the Temple of Solomon, carries back our thoughts to races and customs now almost extinct ; a link which unites the Throne of England to the traditions of Tara and Iona, and connects the charm of our complex civilisation with the forces of our mother earth,—the stocks⁴ and stones of savage nature.

10. The first English King who sat on this august seat in the Abbey was the unworthy Edward II.⁵ He and Isabella his wife were crowned together by Woodlock, Bishop of Winchester, one of a commission of three, named according to Lanfranc's arrangement, by Winchelsea, Archbishop of Canterbury,⁶ who was absent and ill at Rome. The selection of Woodlock from among the three was a special insult to the memory of Edward I.,⁷ against whom Woodlock had conspired.⁸ The like unfeeling insolence was

Coronation
of Edward
II., Feb.
25, Shrove
Tuesday,
1808.

¹ *Citizen of the World* (Letter xiii).

² 'Peter Abbott slept in this chair July 5, 1800.' It is part of the same adventure in which the said Peter Abbott engaged for a wager, by hiding in the tombs, that he would write his name at night on Purcell's monument (Malcolm's *London*, p. 191) ; where, however, it does not appear.

³ A base foul stone, made precious by the foil Of England's Chair.—(Shakespeare's *Richard III.* Act. v. Sc. iii.)

⁴ So the venerable 'Stone of Fevers,' evidently an old Druidical relic, at the entrance of the Cathedral of Le Puy, in Auvergne ; so the 'golden stone' of Clogher, long preserved in the Cathedral of Clogher. (Todd's *St. Patrick*, 129.)

⁵ His is the first Coronation Roll. (Bymer, p. 33 ; Pauli, ii. 205.)

⁶ Taylor, p. 390.

⁷ See Chapter III.

⁸ Hook, iii. 438.

shown in the fact that the most conspicuous personage in the whole ceremony, who carried the crown before any of the magnates of the realm, was Piers Gaveston, the favourite whom his father's dying wish had excluded from his court.¹ There was one incident which the clergy of the Abbey marked with peculiar satisfaction. In the enormous throng an old enemy of the convent, Sir John Bakewell, was trodden to death.²

11. Edward III.'s accession, taking place not after the death but the deposition of his father, was marked by a solemn election. In a General Assembly convened in the Abbey, January 20, 1327, Archbishop Reynolds ^{Coronation of Edward III.} preached on the dubious text, *Vox populi vox Dei*.³ The Prince would not accept the election till it had been confirmed by his father, and then within ten days was crowned. ^{Feb. 1, 1327.} Isabella his mother, 'the shewolf of France,' affected to weep through the whole ceremony. The medal represented the childish modesty of the Prince: a sceptre on a heap of hearts, with the motto, *Populi dat jura voluntas*; and a hand stretched out to save a falling crown, *Non rapit sed accipit*.⁵ The sword of state and shield of state, still kept in the Abbey, were then first carried ^{The Sword and Shield of State.} before the sovereign.⁶ Queen Philippa was crowned in the following year, on Quinquagesima Sunday. ^{Coronation of Philippa, Feb. 2, 1328.}

12. If Edward III.'s coronation is but scantily known, that of his grandson, Richard II., is recorded in the utmost detail. The '*Liber Regalis*,' which prescribed its order and ^{Coronation of Richard II., July 16, 1377.} has been the basis of all subsequent ceremonials, has been in the custody of the Abbots and Deans of Westminster from the time that it was drawn up, on ^{The 'Liber Regalis.'} this occasion, by Abbot Littlington. The magnificence of the dresses and of the procession is also described at length in the contemporary chronicles.⁷ Archbishop Sudbury officiated. Three historical peculiarities marked the event. It is the first known instance of a custom, which prevailed till the time of Charles II.—the cavalcade from the Tower. ^{The Procession from the Tower.} The King remained there for a week, in order to indicate that he

¹ Coronation Roll of Edward II., m. 3d (Rymer, p. 33). Close Roll of

¹ Edward II., m. 10d (Rymer, p. 36).

² Neale, i. 71.

³ *Chron. Lanero.* 258.

⁴ Close Roll of 1 Edward III., m. 24d (Rymer, p. 684).

⁵ Chapters, p. 156. I cannot find the authority for these statements.

⁶ See the *Ironmongers' Exhibition*, pp. 142, 144. See also Chapter III.

⁷ Walsingham, i. 331, 332. It is also well given in Ridgway, pp. 126-160; *Gent. Mag.* 1831 (part ii.), p. 113.

was master of the turbulent city; and then rode bareheaded, amidst every variety of pageant, through Cheapside, Fleet Street, and the Strand, to Westminster. He was accompanied by a body of knights, created for the occasion, who, after having been duly washed in a bath, assumed their knightly dresses, and escorted their young companion to his palace. This was the first beginning of the 'Knights of the Bath,' who from this time forward formed part of the coronation ceremony till the close of the seventeenth century. A third peculiarity is the first appearance of the Champion—certainly of the first Dymoke. When the service was over, and the boy-King, exhausted with the long effort, was carried out fainting, the great nobles, headed by Henry Percy, Lord Marshal, mounted their chargers at the door of the Abbey, and proceeded to clear the way for the procession, when they were met by Sir John Dymoke, the Champion. The unexpected encounter of this apparition, and the ignorance of the Champion as to where he should place himself, seem to indicate that either the office or the person was new. Dymoke had, in fact, contested the right with Baldwin de Freville, who, like him, claimed to be descended from the Kilpecs and the Marmions. He won his cause, and appeared at the gates of the monastery on a magnificently-caparisoned charger, 'the best but one,' which, according to fixed usage, he had taken from the royal stable. Before him rode his spear-bearer and shield-bearer, and they sate at the gates waiting for the end of Mass. His motto, in allusion to his name, was *Dimico pro rege*. The Earl Marshal 'bade him 'wait for his perquisites until the King was sate down to 'dinner, and in the meantime he had better unarm himself, 'take his rest and ease awhile.' So he retired, discomfited, to wait outside the Hall, the proper scene of his challenge.¹ His appearance at that juncture probably belonged to the same revival of chivalric usages that had just produced the Order of the Garter and the Round Table at Windsor. It lingered down to our own time, with the right of wager of battle, which was asserted only a few years before the last appearance of the Champion at the coronation of George IV.

The profusion of the banquet accorded with the extravagant character of the youthful Prince. The golden eagle in the

¹ Holinshed, p. 417; Walsingham, ii. 337. See also *Archæologia*, xx. 207; Maskell, iii. p. xxxiii.

Palace Yard spouted wine. The expense was so vast as to be made an excuse for the immense demands on Parliament afterwards. The Bishop of Rochester, in his coronation sermon, as if with a prescience of Wat Tyler, uttered a warning against excessive taxation :¹

Fair laughs the morn, and soft the zephyr blows :
 In gallant trim the gilded vessel goes,
 Youth on the prow, and pleasure at the helm,
 Regardless of the sweeping whirlwind's sway,
 That hush'd in grim repose expects his evening prey.
 Fill high the sparkling bowl,
 The rich repast prepare
 Close by the royal chair
 Fell thirst and famine scowl
 A baleful smile upon their baffled guest.²

13. The breach in the direct line of the Plantagenets, which is marked by the interruption of their Westminster tombs, is also indicated by the unusual precautions added at the coronation of Henry IV. to supply the defects of his title. The election had been in Westminster Hall. The texts of the three inauguration sermons were all significant : ' *Jacob* ' (a supplanter indeed) ' received the blessing ; ' ' *This man* ' (in contrast to the unfortunate youth) ' shall rule over us ; ' ' *We* ' (the Parliament) ' must take care ' that our kingdom be quiet. ' ³ The day of his coronation was the great festival of the Abbey, October 13, the anniversary of his own exile. He came to the Abbey with an ostentatious unpunctuality, having heard three Masses, and spent long hours with his confessor on the morning of that day, in accordance with the real or affected piety, which was to compensate, in the eyes of his subjects, for his usurpation. His bath and the bath of his knights is brought out more prominently than before. In his coronation the use of the Scottish stone ⁴ is first expressly mentioned ; and, yet more suspiciously, a vase of holy oil, corresponding to the ampulla of Reims, first makes its appearance. The Virgin Mary had given (so the report ran) a golden eagle filled

¹ Turner's *Middle Ages*, ii. 245.

² Gray's *Bard*.—See the description of the King's portrait in Chapter III. Queen Anne was crowned in the Abbey by Archbishop Courtenay, 1382. (Sandford, p. 193.)

³ Knyghton, cc. 2745, 2756. (*Richard II.* par M. Wallon, ii. 307-312.)

⁴ *Arch.* xx. 206.

⁵ *Annales Ric. II. et Hen. IV.* s. *Alban's Chronicles* (Riley), pp. 294, 297.

with holy oil to St. Thomas of Canterbury, during his exile, with the promise that any Kings of England anointed with it would be merciful rulers and champions of the church.¹ It was revealed by a hermit, through the first Duke of Lancaster, to the Black Prince, by him laid up in the Tower for his son's coronation, unaccountably overlooked by Richard II., but discovered by him in the last year of his reign, and taken to Ireland, with the request to Courtenay, Archbishop of Canterbury, to anoint him with it. The Archbishop refused, on the ground that the regal unction, being of the nature of a sacrament, could not be repeated. The King accordingly, on his return from Ireland, delivered the ampulla to the Archbishop at Chester, with the melancholy presage that it was meant for some more fortunate King.² A less questionable relic, the 'Lancaster' sword, was now first introduced, being that which Henry had worn at Ravenspur.³ The pall over his head was carried by the four Dukes of York, Surrey, Aumale, and Gloucester, more or less willingly, according to their politics.⁴ Both Archbishops joined in the coronation of this orthodox Queen Joan, 'Jacob.'⁵ His wife Joan was crowned alone, three months after her marriage.⁶

14. The coronation of Henry V. is the only one represented in the structure of the Abbey itself. The ceremony is sculptured on each side of his Chantry : and assuredly, if ever there was a coronation which carried with it a transforming virtue, it was his.⁷ The chief incident, however, connected with it at the time was the terrible thunderstorm, which was supposed to predict the conflagration of Norwich, Gloucester, and other cities during the ensuing summer, the heavy snow⁸ and rain during the ensuing winter, and the wars⁹ and tumults of the rest of his reign. His Queen, Catherine, was crowned when they returned from France.¹⁰

15. The coronation of Henry VI. was the first of a mere child. He was but nine years old, and sate on the platform in the Abbey, 'beholding all the people about 'sadly and wisely.'¹¹ It was on the 6th of Novem-

Coronation
of Henry V.,
April 9,
Passion
Sunday,
1413.

Queen
Catherine,
Feb. 24,
1420.

Coronation
of Henry
VI., Nov. 6,
1429.

¹ Maskell, iii. p. xvii.
² Walsingham, ii. 240.
³ *Arch.* xx. 206.
⁴ *Ibid.* 207.
⁵ Pauli, iii. 3.
⁶ Strickland, iii. 78.

⁷ See Chapter V.
⁸ Bedman, p. 62.
⁹ Capgrave, p. 125.
¹⁰ For the feast see Holinshed, p. 579.
¹¹ Taylor, p. 163.

ber, corresponding, as was fancifully thought, to the 6th of December,¹ his birthday, and to the perfection of the number 6 in the Sixth Henry. Perhaps, in consideration of his tender years, was omitted, at the request of the Pope, the prayer that the King should have Peter's keys and Paul's doctrine.² Then succeeded his coronation at Paris. Years afterwards his French Queen, Margaret, was crowned in the Abbey.

Dec. 17,
1431.
Queen
Margaret,
April 30,
1448.

16. Of the coronation of Edward IV. there is nothing to record except the difficulty about the day.³ It was to have been early in March 1461. It was then, in consequence of the siege of Carlisle, put off till the 28th of June.⁴ 'the Sunday after Midsummer,'—the day of one other and happier coronation, hereafter to be noticed. But it was again deferred till the 29th,⁵ in consequence of the singular superstition which regarded the 28th of any month to be a repetition of Childermas Day, always considered as unlucky.⁶

Coronation
of Edward
IV., June
29, 1468.

June 29,
1461.

17. All was prepared for the coronation of Edward V.—wildfowl for the banquet, and dresses for the guests.⁷ But he, alone of our English sovereigns, passed to his grave 'uncrowned, without sceptre or ball.'⁸ His connection with the Abbey is through his birth⁹ and burial.¹⁰

Edward V.,
June 23,
1483.

18. As Henry IV. compensated for the defect of his title by the superior sanctity of his coronation, so the like defect in that of Richard III. was supplied by its superior magnificence. 'Never,' it was said, 'had such an one been seen.'¹¹ On the 26th of June he rode in state from Baynard's Castle, accompanied by 6,000 gentlemen from the North, to Westminster Hall; and 'there sate in the seat royal, and called before him the judges to execute the laws, with many good exhortations, of which he followed not one.'¹² He then went to make his offerings at the shrine of the Confessor. The Abbot met him at the door with St. Edward's sceptre. 'The monks sang Te Deum with a faint courage.' He then

Coronation
of Richard
III., July 6,
1483.

¹ Capgrave, p. 146; Hook, v. 78.

² D'Israeli's *Charles I.*, i. 276.

³ The story of his coronation at York is a mistake, founded on another incident. (Holinshed, iii. 616.)

⁴ Hall, p. 257.

⁵ Speed, p. 853; Sandford, p. 404.

⁶ See *Paston Letters*, i. 230, 235.

But, according to the White Book of

the Cinque Ports (*Sussex Arch. Coll.*, xv. 180), it was on the 28th.

⁷ *Arch.* i. 337.

⁸ Speed, p. 909.

⁹ See Chapter V.

¹⁰ See Chapter III.

¹¹ Speed, p. 933; Hall; Grafton.

¹² Strickland, iii. 375.

returned to the Palace, whence, on the 6th of July, he went with the usual procession to the Abbey. The lofty platform, high above the altar; the strange appearance of King and Queen, as they sat stripped from the waist upwards, to be anointed—the dukes around the King, the bishops and ladies around the Queen—the train of the Queen borne by Margaret of Richmond¹—were incidents long remembered.

19. With all her prescience, Margaret could hardly have foreseen that within three years her own son would be in the same place; nor Bouchier, Cardinal Archbishop, that he would be dragged out, in his extreme old age,² a third time to consecrate the doubtful claims of a new dynasty. The coronation of Henry VII. was, however, by its mean appearance, a striking contrast to that of his predecessor.³ This may, in part, have been caused by Henry VII.'s well-known parsimony. But it probably also arose from the fact that his real title to the throne rested elsewhere. 'His marriage,' says Lord Bacon, 'was with greater triumph than either his entry or 'his coronation.'⁴ His true coronation he felt to have been when, on the field of Bosworth, the crown of Richard was brought by Sir Reginald Bray from the hawthorn-bush to Lord Stanley, who placed it on Henry's head, on the height still called, from the incident, Crown Hill.⁵ As such it appears in the stained glass of the chapel built for him in the Abbey, by the very same Sir Reginald. And in his will he enjoined that his image on his tomb should be represented as holding the crown, 'which it pleased God to give us with the victory of our 'enemy at our first field.'⁶ Elizabeth of York, from the same feeling, was not crowned till two years afterwards.⁷ Two ceremonies, however, were noticed in this truncated inauguration. Now first, in the archers needed to guard the King's dubious claims, appear the 'Yeomen of the Guard.'⁸ The Bishops of Durham and of Bath and Wells, who had both been officers under the York dynasty, were superseded in their proper functions of supporters by the Bishops of Exeter and Ely.⁹

Coronation
of Henry
VII., Oct.
30, 1485.

Corona-
tion of
Elizabeth
of York,
Nov. 28,
1487.

The 'Yeomen of the Guard.'

¹ Hall, p. 376; Herald's College (*Excerpta Historica*), p. 379.

² Hook, v. 383.

³ Hall, p. 423.

⁴ Bacon, *Henry VII.*, p. 26.

⁵ Hutton's *Bosworth*, p. 132.

⁶ Jesse's *Richard III.*, p. 297.

⁷ Leland, iv. 324; Jesse, p. 299.

⁸ Roberts' *York and Lancaster*, p. 472.

⁹ This appears from 'the Device for the Coronation of Henry VII.' (p. 12), published by the Camden Society (No. XXI. 1842).

20. The splendour of the coronation of Henry VIII. and Catherine of Arragon was such as might have been anticipated from their position and character. Then for the last time, in the person of Warham, the sanction of the see of Rome was lent to the ministration of the Archbishop of Canterbury.¹ During its rejoicings Margaret of Richmond, the foundress of the Tudor dynasty, passed away to a more tranquil world.²

Coronation
of Henry
VIII.,
June 24,
Sunday,
1509.

One other female coronation took place in this reign, that of Anne Boleyn. It must be told at length:—

Coronation
of Anne
Boleyn,
1533.

It was resolved that such spots and blemishes as hung about the marriage should be forgotten in the splendour of the coronation. If there was scandal in the condition of the Queen, yet under another aspect that condition was matter of congratulation to a people so eager for an heir; and Henry may have thought that the sight for the first time in public of so beautiful a creature, surrounded by the most magnificent pageant which London had witnessed since the unknown day on which the first stone of it was laid, and bearing in her bosom the long-hoped-for inheritor of the English crown, might induce a chivalrous nation to forget what it was the interest of no loyal subject to remember longer, and to offer her an English welcome to the throne.

In anticipation of the timely close of the proceedings at Dunstable, notice had been given in the city early in May, that preparations should be made for the coronation on the first of the following month. Queen Anne was at Greenwich, but, according to custom, the few preceding days were to be spent at the Tower; and on the 19th of May, she was conducted thither in state by the Lord Mayor and the city companies, with one of those splendid exhibitions upon the water which, in the days when the silver Thames deserved its name, and the sun could shine down upon it out of the blue summer sky, were spectacles scarcely rivalled in gorgeoussness by the world-famous wedding of the Adriatic.

On the morning of the 31st of May, the families of the London citizens were stirring early in all houses. From Temple Bar to the Tower, the streets were fresh-strewed with gravel, the foot paths were railed off along the whole distance, and occupied on one side by the guilds, their workmen and apprentices, on the other by the city constables and officials in their gaudy uniforms, 'with their staves in hand for to cause the people to keep good room and order.' Cornhill and Gracechurch Street had dressed their fronts in scarlet and crimson, in arras and tapestry, and the rich carpet-work from Persia and the

May 31,
1533.

¹ Hall, p. 509.

² See Chapter III.

East. Cheapside, to outshine her rivals, was draped even more splendidly in cloth of gold and tissue and velvet. The sheriffs were pacing up and down on their great Flemish horses, hung with liveries, and all the windows were thronged with ladies crowding to see the procession pass. At length the Tower guns opened, the grim gates rolled back, and under the archway, in the bright May sunshine, the long column began slowly to defile. All these rode on in pairs. . . . It is no easy matter to picture to ourselves the blazing trail of splendour which in such a pageant must have drawn along the London streets—those streets which now we know so black and smoke-grimed, themselves then radiant with masses of colour, gold and crimson and violet. Yet there it was, and there the sun could shine upon it, and tens of thousands of eyes were gazing on the scene out of the crowded lattices.

Glorious as the spectacle was, perhaps, however, it passed unheeded. Those eyes were watching all for another object, which now drew near. In an open space behind the constable, there was seen approaching 'a white chariot,' drawn by two palfreys in white damask which swept the ground, a golden canopy borne above it making music with silver bells; and in the chariot sat the observed of all observers, the beautiful occasion of all this glittering homage—Fortune's plaything of the hour, the Queen of England—Queen at last—borne along upon the waves of this sea of glory, breathing the perfumed incense of greatness which she had risked her fair name, her delicacy, her honour, her self-respect, to win: and she had won it.

There she sate, dressed in white tissue robes, her fair hair flowing loose over her shoulders, and her temples circled with a light coronet of gold and diamonds—most beautiful—loveliest—most favoured perhaps, as she seemed at that hour, of all England's daughters. . . . Fatal gift of greatness! so dangerous ever! so more than dangerous in those tremendous times when the fountains are broken loose of the great deeps of thought, and nations are in the throes of revolution—when ancient order and law and tradition are splitting in the social earthquake; and as the opposing forces wrestle to and fro, those unhappy ones who stand out above the crowd become the symbols of the struggle, and fall the victims of its alternating fortunes! And what if into an unsteady heart and brain, intoxicated with splendour, the outward chaos should find its way, converting the poor silly soul into an image of the same confusion—if conscience should be deposed from her high place, and the Pandora-box be broken loose of passions and sensualities and follies; and at length there be nothing left of all which man or woman ought to value, save hope of God's forgiveness!

Three short years have yet to pass, and again, on a summer morning, Queen Anne Boleyn will leave the Tower of London—not radiant then with beauty on a gay errand of coronation, but a poor wandering ghost, on a sad tragic errand, from which she will

never more return, passing away out of an earth where she may stay no longer, into a Presence where, nevertheless, we know that all is well—for all of us—and therefore for her. . . .

With such 'pretty conceits,' at that time the honest tokens of an English welcome, the new Queen was received by the citizens of London. The King was not with her throughout the day, nor did he intend being with her in any part of the ceremony. She was to reign without a rival, the undisputed sovereign of the hour.

Saturday being passed in showing herself to the people, she retired for the night to 'the King's manor-house at Westminster,' where she slept. On the following morning, between eight and nine o'clock, she returned to the Hall, where the Lord Mayor, the ^{Sunday,} ^{June 1, 1552.} City Council, and the Peers were again assembled, and took her place on the high dais at the top of the stairs under the cloth of state; while the Bishops, the Abbots, and the monks of the Abbey formed in the area. A railed way had been laid with carpets across Palace Yard and the Sanctuary to the Abbey gates; and when all was ready, preceded by the Peers in their robes of Parliament, the Knights of the Garter in the dress of the Order, she swept out under her canopy, the Bishops and the monks 'solemnly singing.' The train was borne by the old Duchess of Norfolk, her aunt, the Bishops of London and Winchester on either side 'bearing up the lappets of her robe.' The Earl of Oxford carried the crown on its cushion immediately before her. She was dressed in purple velvet furred with ermine, her hair escaping loose, as she usually wore it, under a wreath of diamonds.

On entering the Abbey, she was led to the coronation chair, where she sat while the train fell into their places, and the preliminaries of the ceremonial were despatched. Then she was conducted up to the High Altar, and anointed Queen of England; and she received from the hands of Craumer, fresh come in haste from Dunstable, with the last words of his sentence upon Catherine scarcely silent upon his lips, the golden sceptre and St. Edward's crown.

Did any twinge of remorse, any pang of painful recollection, pierce at that moment the incense of glory which she was inhaling? Did any vision flit across her of a sad mourning figure, which once had stood where she was standing, now desolate, neglected, sinking into the darkening twilight of a life cut short by sorrow? Who can tell? At such a time, that figure would have weighed heavily upon a noble mind, and a wise mind would have been taught by the thought of it, that although life be fleeting as a dream, it is long enough to experience strange vicissitudes of fortune. But Anne Boleyn was not noble and was not wise,—too probably she felt nothing but the delicious, all-absorbing, all-intoxicating present; and if that plain suffering face presented itself to her memory at all, we may fear that it was rather as a foil to her own surpassing loveliness. Two years later she was

able to exult over Catherine's death; she is not likely to have thought of her with gentler feelings in the first glow and flush of triumph.¹

The 'three gentlemen' who met in 'a street in Westminster' in the opening of the 4th Act of Shakspeare's 'Henry VIII.' are the lively representatives, so to speak, of the multitudes who since have 'taken their stand here,' to behold the pageant of coronations:—

God save you, sir! Where have you been broiling?

3d Gent. Among the crowd i' the Abbey

2d Gent. You saw the ceremony?

3d Gent. That I did.

1st Gent. How was it?

3d Gent. Well worth the seeing.

2d Gent. Good sir, speak it to us.

3d Gent. As well as I am able. The rich stream
Of lords and ladies, having brought the Queen
To a prepared place in the Choir, fell off
A distance from her; while her Grace sat down
To rest a while, some half an hour or so,
In a rich chair of state, opposing freely
The beauty of her person to the people.
Believe me, sir, she is the goodliest woman
That ever lay by man. . . . Such joy
I never saw before. . . .
At length her Grace rose, and with modest paces
Came to the altar; where she kneel'd and, saintlike,
Cast her fair eyes to heaven, and pray'd devoutly.
. . . . So she parted,
And with the same full state paced back again
To York-place, where the feast is held.²

After Anne Boleyn's death, none of Henry's Queens were crowned. Jane Seymour would have been but for the plague, which raged 'in the Abbey itself.'³

21. The design which had been conceived by the Second Henry, for securing the succession by the coronation of his eldest son before his death, also, for like reasons, took possession of the mind of Henry VIII. The preparations for Edward VI.'s inauguration were in progress at the moment of his father's death: in fact, it

Coronation
of Edward
VI., Feb. 20,
Shrove
Tuesday,
1546.

¹ Froude, i. 456-58.

² *Henry VIII.*, Act iv. sc. 1.

³ Henry VIII.'s *State Papers* (i. 460).

took place within the next month. The incidents in the procession from the Tower here first assume a characteristic form.¹ An Arragonese sailor capered on a tight-rope down from the battlements of St. Paul's to a window at the Dean's Gate, which delighted the boy-King. Logic, Arithmetic and other sciences greeted the precocious child on his advance. One or two vestiges of the fading past crossed his road. 'An old man in a chair, with crown and sceptre, represented the state of King Edward the Confessor. St. George would have spoken, but that his Grace made such speed that for lack of time he could not.'² On his arrival at the Abbey, he found it, for the first time, transformed into a '*cathedral*.'³ He was met not by Abbot or Dean, but by the then Bishop of Westminster, Thirlby. The King's godfather, Archbishop Cranmer, officiated; and the changes of the service, which was still that of the Mass of the Church of Rome, were most significant. It was greatly abridged, partly 'for the tedious length of the same,' and 'the tender age' of the King—partly for 'that many points of the same were such as, by the laws of the nation, were not allowable.' Instead of the ancient form of election, the Archbishop presented the young Prince as 'rightful and undoubted inheritor.'⁴ The consent of the people was only asked to the ceremony of the coronation. The unction was performed with unusual care. 'My Lord of Canterbury kneeling on his knees, and the King lying prostrate upon the altar, anointed his back.' The coronation itself was peculiar. 'My Lord Protector, the Duke of Somerset, held the crown in his hand for a certain space,' and it was set on the King's head by those two, the Duke and the Archbishop. For the first time the Bible was presented to the Sovereign,⁵ an act which may perhaps have suggested to the young King the substitution, which he had all but effected,⁶ of the Bible for St. George in the insignia of the Order of the Garter. There was no sermon; but the⁷ short address of Cranmer, considering the punctiliousness with which the ceremony had been performed, and the

¹ Holinshead; Taylor, p. 285; Leland, iv. 321; Prynn's *Signal Loyalty*, part ii. p. 250.

² Leland, iv. 324.

³ See Chapter VI.

⁴ Burnet, *Coll. Rec.*, part ii. book i. No. 4.

⁵ Camden's *Remains*, 371.

⁶ Anstis's *Order of the Garter*, i. 438. For the story of the King's remark on the Bible, in 'Chapters' (p. 174), I can find no authority.

⁷ Strype's *Memorials of Cranmer*, i. 204; Harleian MS. 2308. Its genuineness is contested in Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops*, ii. 232.

importance of his position as the Father of the Reformed Church of England, is perhaps the boldest and most pregnant utterance ever delivered in the Abbey. He warned the young Archbishop Cranmer's address. King against confounding orthodoxy with morality. He insisted on the supremacy of the royal authority over both the Bishops of Rome and the Bishops of Canterbury.

The wiser sort will look to their claws, and clip them.

He pointed out

in what respect the solemn rites of coronation have their ends and utility, yet neither direct force nor necessity; they be good admonitions to put kings in mind of their duty to God, but no increasement of their dignity: for they be God's anointed—not in respect of the oil which the bishop useth, but in consideration of their power, which is ordained; of the sword, which is authorised; of their persons, which are elected of God, and endued with the gifts of His Spirit, for the better ruling and guiding of His people. The oil, if added, is but a ceremony: if it be wanting, that king is yet a perfect monarch notwithstanding, and God's anointed, as well as if he was inoiled. Now for the person or bishop that doth anoint a king, it is proper to be done by the chiefest. But if they cannot, or will not, any bishop may perform this ceremony.—He described what God requires at the hands of kings and rulers—that is, religion and virtue. Therefore not from the Bishop of Rome, but as a messenger from my Saviour Jesus Christ, I shall most humbly admonish your Royal Majesty what things your Highness is to perform.

He required the King,

like Josiah, to see God truly worshipped, and idolatry destroyed; to reward virtue, to revenge sin, to justify the innocent, to relieve the poor, to procure peace, to repress violence, and to execute justice throughout your realms.

22. Mary's coronation was stamped with all the strange vicissitudes of her accession. Now first rose into Mary. view the difficulties, which in various forms have reappeared since, respecting the Coronation Oath.

The Council proposed to bind the Queen, by an especial clause, to maintain the independence of the English Church; and she, on the other hand, was meditating how she could introduce an adjective *sub silentio*, and intended to swear only that she would observe the 'just' laws and constitutions. But these grounds could not be avowed.

The Queen was told that her passage through the streets would be

unsafe until her accession had been sanctioned by Parliament, and the Act repealed by which she was illegitimatised. With Paget's help she faced down these objections, and declared that she would be crowned at once; she appointed the 1st of October for the ceremony; on the 28th she sent for the Council, to attempt an appeal to their generosity. She spoke to them at length of her past life and sufferings, of the conspiracy to set her aside, and of the wonderful Providence which had preserved her and raised her to the throne: her only desire, she said, was to do her duty to God and to her subjects; and she hoped (turning, as she spoke, pointedly to Gardiner) that they would not forget their loyalty, and would stand by her in her extreme necessity. Observing them hesitate, she cried, 'My Lords, on my knees I implore you!'—and flung herself on the ground at their feet.

The Pro-
cession,
Sept. 30,
1553.

The most skilful acting could not have served Mary's purpose better than this outburst of natural emotion: the spectacle of their kneeling sovereign overcame for a time the scheming passions of her ministers; they were affected, burst into tears, and withdrew their opposition to her wishes.

On the 30th, the procession from the Tower to Westminster through the streets was safely accomplished. The retinues of the Lords protected the Queen from insult, and London put on its usual outward signs of rejoicing; St. Paul's spire was rigged with yards like a ship's mast [an adventurous Dutchman outdoing the Spaniard at Edward VI.'s coronation, and sitting astride on the weathercock, five hundred feet in the air].¹ The Hot Gospeller, half-recovered from his gaol-fever, got out of bed to see the spectacle, and took his station at the west end of St. Paul's. The procession passed so close as almost to touch him, and one of the train, seeing him muffled up, and looking more dead than alive, said, 'There is one that loveth Her Majesty well, 'to come out in such condition.' The Queen turned her head and looked at him. To hear that any one of her subjects loved her just then was too welcome to be overlooked.²

On the next day the ceremony in the Abbey was performed without fresh burdens being laid upon Mary's conscience. The three chief prelates, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the Bishop of London, were prisoners in the Tower. Gardiner, therefore, as Bishop of Winchester, officiated, 'without any express right or precedent,' as Archbishop Parker afterwards indignantly wrote.³ The sermon was by Bishop Day, who had preached at her brother's funeral.⁴ She had been alarmed lest Henry IV.'s holy oil

The Coro-
nation,
Oct. 1,
1553.

¹ Taylor, p. 287; Holinshed.

² Froude, vi. 100, 101.

³ *De. Ant. Brit.* p. 509.

⁴ Burnet, *Hist. Ref.* ii. 251.

should have lost its efficacy through the interdict: and, accordingly, a fresh supply was sent through the Imperial Ambassador, blessed by the Bishop of Arras. She had also feared lest even St. Edward's Chair had been polluted, by having been the seat of her Protestant brother; and accordingly, though it is expressly stated to have been brought out, another chair was sent by the Pope, in which she sate, and which is now said to be in the cathedral of Winchester.¹ Anne of Cleves was present, and also Elizabeth. The Princess complained to the French Ambassador of the weight of her coronet. 'Have patience,' said Noailles, 'and before long you will exchange it for a crown.'²

23. That time soon arrived. The coronation of Elizabeth, like that of her sister, had its own special characteristics. Elizabeth. The day (January 15) was fixed in deference to her astrologer, Dee, who pronounced it a day of good luck; and it was long observed as an anniversary in the Abbey.³ The procession was on the day before.

The Pro-
cession,
Jan. 14,
1559.

As she passed out to her carriage under the gates of the Tower, fraught to her with such stern remembrances, she stood still, looked up to heaven, and said—

'O Lord, Almighty and Everlasting God, I give Thee most humble thanks, that Thou hast been so merciful unto me as to spare me to behold this joyful day; and I acknowledge that Thou hast dealt wonderfully and mercifully with me. As Thou didst with Thy servant Daniel the prophet, whom Thou deliveredst out of the den, from the cruelty of the raging lions, even so was I overwhelmed, and only by Thee delivered. To Thee, therefore, only be thanks, honour, and praise for ever. Amen.'

She then took her seat, and passed on—passed on through thronged streets and crowded balconies, amidst a people to whom her accession was as the rising of the sun. Away in the country the Protestants were few and the Catholics many. But the Londoners were the first-born of the Reformation, whom the lurid fires of Smithfield had worked only into fiercer convictions. The aldermen wept for joy as she went by. Groups of children waited for her with their little songs at the crosses and conduits. Poor women, though it was midwinter, flung nosegays into her lap. In Cheapside the Corporation presented her with an English Bible. She kissed it, 'thanking the City for their goodly gift,' and saying, 'she would diligently read therein.' One

¹ Planché, p. 60. — A reasonable doubt is expressed (in *Gent. Mag.* 1838, p. 612) whether the Winchester chair is

not that which served for her marriage.

² Froude, vi. 102.

³ See Chapter VI.

of the crowd, recollecting who first gave the Bible to England, exclaimed, 'Remember old King Harry the Eighth!' and a gleam of light passed over Elizabeth's face—'a natural child,' says Holinshed, 'who at the very remembrance of her father's name took so great a joy, that all men may well think that as she rejoiced at his name whom the realm doth still hold of so worthy memory, so in her doings she will resemble the same.'¹

The pageants in the City were partly historical—partly theological: her grandparents and her parents; the eight Beatitudes; Time with his daughter Truth—'a seemly and meet personage richly apparelled in Parliament robes'—Deborah, 'the judge and restorer of the House of Israel.' On Temple Bar, for once deserting their stations at Guildhall, Gog and Magog stood, with hands joined over the gate. The Queen thanked her citizens, and assured them that she would 'stand their good Queen.' It has been truly remarked that the increased seriousness of the time is shown in the contrast between these grave Biblical figures and the light classical imagery of the pageants that witnessed the passage of her mother.²

At the ceremony in the Abbey, on the following day, the Coronation Mass was celebrated, and the Abbot of Westminster took his part in the service for the last time. Thus far Elizabeth's conformity to the ancient Ritual was complete. But the coming changes made themselves felt. The Litany was read in English; the Gospel and Epistle, still more characteristically representing her double ecclesiastical position, in Latin and English. On these grounds, and from an unwillingness to acknowledge her disputed succession, the whole Bench of Bishops, with one exception, were absent.³ The see of Canterbury was vacant. The Archbishop of York demurred to the English Litany. The Bishop of London, the proper representative of the Primate on these occasions, was in prison. But his robes were borrowed; and Oglethorpe, Bishop of Carlisle, Dean of the Chapel Royal, consented to act for him, but, it was believed, afterwards died of remorse.⁴ 'The oil was grease, and smelt ill.' Still the ceremony was completed, and she was elected and 'proclaimed' by the singular but expressive

¹ Froude, vii. 38, 39.

² Aikin's *Elizabeth*, i. 251.

³ *Ibid.* i. 252; Nichols' *Progresses*, i. 30; Taylor, p. 287. Machyn (Jan.

15, 1559) speaks of the *Bishops*, mitred and in scarlet, singing *Salve festa dies*. But this must be a mistake.

⁴ Burnet, ii. pt. i. p. 685.

title—'Empress from the Orcade Isles unto the Mountains 'Pyrenees.'¹

24. The day of the coronation of James I.—first king of 'Great Britain'—was chosen from his namesake the Apostle.

Coronation
of James I.

Monday,
St. James's
Day, July
25, 1603.

The procession from the Tower was abandoned, in consequence of the plague; though Ben Jonson, who had been employed by the City to prepare the pageants, published his account of what they would have been.²

The King and Queen went straight from the Palace to the Abbey, Anne 'with her hair down hanging.'³ The presence of all the Bishops, contrasted with the scanty attendance at the inauguration of Elizabeth, indicates that this was the first coronation celebrated by the Anglican Reformed Church. Andrews was Dean; Whitgift was Archbishop. Bilson preached the sermon.⁴ When James sat on the Stone of Scone,⁵ the first King of Great Britain, the Scots believed the ancient prediction to have been at last fulfilled. The only drawback in the ceremonial was the refusal of Anne to take the sacrament: 'she had changed her Lutheran religion once before,' for the Presbyterian forms of Scotland, and that was enough.⁶

Several significant changes were made in the Ritual, indicative of the grasping tendency of the Stuart kings, which afterwards were attributed to Laud, on the erroneous supposition that he had made the change for Charles I. For the word '*elect*,' was substituted '*consecrate*;' and for '*the commons*,' '*the commonalty of your kingdom*.' And to the '*laws which the King promised to observe*' were added the words '*agreeable to the King's prerogative*.'

25. The coronation of Charles I. was filled, both to the wise and to the superstitious, with omens of coming disaster. As

Coronation
of Charles I.

in the time of his father, there was no procession, nominally because of the plague;⁷ but really, it was suspected, because of the wish of 'Baby Charles' to save the money for the Spanish war, without the need of going to

¹ Planché, p. 47; Strickland, vi. 165, 167.

² Aikin's *James I.*, p. 151. They took place some months later. (*Gent. Mag.* 1838, p. 189.)

³ Nichols' *Progresses*, i. 377; Birch, *State Papers*, ii. 504; Strickland, v. 105.

⁴ On Rom. xiii. 1.

⁵ Speed, p. 888. See Appendix.

⁶ Chapters, p. 103. The real reason

probably was her secret adherence to the Church of Rome. Milman's *Essays*, p. 230.

⁷ Lawson's *Life of Laud*, i. 297-305.

⁸ 'Though the infectious air of London had lately been corrected with a sharp winter, yet . . . a suspicion of danger did remain.' (Fuller's *Church Hist.* A.D. 1626.)

Parliament, for supplies. Sir Robert Cotton was waiting at the stairs leading to his house, in the neighbourhood of the Palace, to present him with the ancient Gospels, Feast of the Purification, Feb. 2, 1625-6. 'on which for divers hundred years together the Kings of England had solemnly taken their coronation oaths.' But the royal barge 'balked those steps,' and 'was run aground at the Parliament stairs.' Sir Robert was glad that the inconvenient precedent of landing at his stairs was missed; but it was believed that 'the Duke of Buckingham had prevented that act of grace being done him.'¹ There was a feud raging within the Chapter of Westminster—an echo of the larger struggles without—which was apparent as soon as the King entered the doors of the Abbey. Williams, the Dean, was in disgrace, and had in vain entreated Buckingham to be allowed to officiate. But his rival, Laud, carried the day through that potent favourite, and, as prebendary, took the place of his hated superior.² The coronations of the Tudor sovereigns have been according³ to the Roman Pontifical, and that of James I. having been prepared in haste, Charles issued a commission, in which Laud took the chief part, to draw up a more purely Anglican Service. The alterations, however, rather pointed in another direction. The unction was to be made in the form of a cross. Laud consecrated the oil on the altar.⁴ The clergy were especially named as coming 'nearer to the altar than others.' The King vouchsafed to kiss the two chief officiating Prelates. On the altar was planted an ancient crucifix from the Regalia. King Edward's ivory comb was brought out, and when the King sate down in the royal chair, 'he called for the comb that he might see it.' At the same time the Royal Prerogative was exalted by the introduction of the prayer (omitted since the time of Henry VI.) that the King might have 'Peter's keys and Paul's doctrine.'⁵ The words 'to the people' were said to have been left out in the oath.⁶ Whether by accident, or from its being the proper colour for the day (the Feast of the Purification), or 'to declare the virgin purity with which he came to be espoused to his kingdom,' Charles

¹ Ellis's *Collection of Original Letters*, i. 214; *Gent. Mag.* 1838, vol. ix. p. 473.

² It was left to Williams's choice to name a prebendary. He could not pass over Laud (as Bishop of St. David's), and he would not nominate him. He therefore presented a com-

plete list, and left to the King to choose. (Fuller's *Church Hist.* A.D. 1626. See Chapter VI.

³ Heylin's *Laud*, p. 135.

⁴ State Papers, Feb. 2, 1625-26. See p. 46.

⁵ Heylin's *Laud*, p. 136.

⁶ Oldmixon, i. 82.

changed the usual purple velvet robe for one of white satin, which the spectators, at the time or afterwards, regarded as ominous of his being led out as a victim, or as having drawn upon him the misfortunes predicted in ancient days for the 'White King.' 'The left wing of the dove, the mark of the Confessor's halcyon days, was broken on the sceptre staff—by what casualty God himself knows. The King sent for Mr. Acton, then his goldsmith, commanding him that the ring-stone should be set in again. The goldsmith replied that it was impossible to be done so fairly but that some mark would remain thereof. The King, in some passion, returned, "If you will not do it, another shall." Thereupon Mr. Acton returned and got another dove of gold to be artificially set in; whereat his Majesty was well contented, as making no discovery thereof.' It was the first infringement on the old Regalia. The text was, as if for a funeral sermon, 'I will give thee a crown of life,' by Senhouse, Bishop of Carlisle, who died shortly after of black jaundice, 'a disease which hangs the face with mourning as against its burial.'² During the solemnity an earthquake was felt, which Baxter long remembered, 'being a boy at school at the time, and having leave to play. It was about two o'clock in the afternoon, and did affright the boys and all in the neighbourhood.'³

The whole ceremonial is detailed by Fuller as coming 'within (if not the park and pale) the purlieu of ecclesiastical history.' But he adds, with a touching pathos: 'I have insisted the longer on this subject, moved thereat by this consideration—that if it be the last solemnity performed on an English King in this land, posterity will conceive my pains well bestowed, because on the last. But, if hereafter Divine Providence shall assign England another King, though the transactions herein be not wholly precedented, something of state may be chosen out grateful for imitation.'⁴

26. At the time when Fuller wrote these words, it did indeed seem as if Charles I.'s coronation would be the last. All its disastrous omens had been verified, and a new dynasty seemed firmly established on the throne of this realm. The

¹ Oldmixon, i. 82; Palgrave's *Nor-mandy*, iii. 880; Heylin's *Land*, p. 138.

² Fuller's *Church Hist.* A.D. 1626.

³ Baxter's *Life*, p. 2.

⁴ Fuller's *Church Hist.* A.D. 1626.—

Charles I. was crowned King of Scotland at Edinburgh, by Spottiswood, Archbishop of St. Andrews. (See Ellis's *Letters*, iii. 283; D'Israeli's *Charles I.*, i. 276.)

Regalia were gone.¹ Yet even then there was a semblance preserved of the ancient Ritual. Not in the Abbey, but in the adjacent Hall, his Highness Oliver Cromwell was 'installed' as Lord Protector; and out of the Abbey was brought, for that one and only time, 'the Chair of 'Scotland,' and on it, 'under a prince-like canopy of state,' as a successor of Fergus and Kenneth, of Edward I. and of James I., Oliver was solemnly enthroned. The Bible was presented as in the time of Edward VI.: 'a book of books,' which 'doth contain both precepts and examples for good government;' 'the book of life, which, in the Old Testament, shows *Christum velatum*; in the New, *Christum revelatum*.'²

27. The coronation of Charles II.³ was celebrated with all the splendour which the enthusiasm of the Restoration could provide. It is the first of which an elaborate pictorial representation remains.⁴ 'The ceremony of the King's coronation was done with the greatest solemnity and glory,' says Clarendon, 'that ever any had been seen in that kingdom.' The utmost care was taken to examine 'the records and old 'formularies,' and to ascertain the 'claims to privileges and 'precedency,' in order 'to discredit and discountenance the 'novelties with which the Kingdom had been so much intoxicated for so many years together.'⁵

The procession from the Tower was revived. Pepys, of course, was there to see:

The Procession,
April 23,
1661.

Up early, and made myself as fine as I could, and put on my velvet coat, the first day that I put it on, though made half a year ago. . . . It is impossible to relate the glory of this day, expressed in the clothes of them that rid [in the procession], and their horses and horse-cloths. Amongst others, my Lord Sandwich's diamonds and embroidery was not ordinary among them. The knights of the Bath was a brave sight in itself. . . . Remarkable were the two men that represent the two Dukes of Normandy and Aquitaine. The Bishops were next after Barons, which is the higher place; which makes me think that the

¹ See Chapters V. and VI.

² Forster's *Statesmen of the Commonwealth*, v. 421, 423.

³ He had already been crowned King of Scotland, in the parish church of St. John, on January 1, 1651. The sermon was preached by the Moderator of the General Assembly. The text was 2 Kings xi. 12-17. After the sermon the King swore, with his usual facility,

to carry out the Solemn League and Covenant. The crown was placed on his head by the Marquis of Argyll, who was executed after the Restoration.

⁴ Ogilvy's *Coronation of King Charles II.*, where every triumphal arch is described.

⁵ Clarendon's *Life*, April 23, 1661.

next Parliament they will be called to the House of Lords. My Lord Monk rode bare after the King, and led in his hand a spare horse, being Master of the Horse. . . . The streets all gravelled, and the houses hung with carpets upon them, made brave show, and the ladies out of the windows. . . . Both the King and the Duke of York took notice of us, as they saw us at the window. . . .

About four I rose and got to the Abbey, and with much ado did get up into a scaffold across the north end, where with a great deal of patience I sate from past four to eleven. And a great pleasure it was to see the Abbey raised in the middle all covered with red, and a throne, that is a chair and footstool, on the top of it, and all the officers of all kinds, so much as the very fiddlers, in red vests. At last comes the Dean [Dr. Earles] and Prebendaries of Westminster.¹

The Coronation,
April 23,
1661.

The ceremonial we need not follow, except in a few characteristic particulars. The Regalia were all new, though bearing the ancient names, in the place of those that perished in the Commonwealth. Busby carried the ampulla. Archbishop Juxon, 'in a rich ancient cope,' 'present but much indisposed 'and weak,'² anointed and crowned the King. The rest of the service was performed by Sheldon, as Bishop of London.³ Several untoward incidents marred the solemnity. The Duke of York prevailed on the King, 'who had not high reverence 'for old customs,' that Lord Jermyn should act the part of his Master of the Horse, as the Duke of Albemarle did to the King.

The Lords were exceedingly surprised and troubled at this, of which they heard nothing till they saw it; and they liked it the worse because they discerned that it issued from a fountain from whence many bitter waters were like to flow—the customs of the Court of France, whereof the King and the Duke had too much the image in their heads, and than which there could not be a copy more universally ingrateful and odious to the English nation.

The Earl of Northumberland and the Earl of Ossory quarrelled as to the right of carrying the insignia, 'as they 'sate at table in Westminster Hall.'⁴ The King's footmen

¹ Pepys's *Diary*, April 22 and 23, 1661. The King rode, not to Westminster, but to Whitehall. The banquet, however, was at Westminster. (Ogilvy, p. 177.)

² Evelyn, April 23, 1661; Ogilvy, p. 177.

³ The sermon was preached before, on Prov. xxviii. 2, by Morley, Bishop of Worcester; according to Pepys, on the day before, in Henry VII.'s Chapel, according to Evelyn, at the usual time of the service.

⁴ Clarendon's *Life*, *ibid*.

and the Barons of the Cinque Ports had a desperate struggle for the canopy.

'Strange it is to think that these two days have held up
'fair till all is done, and then it fell raining, and thundering,
'and lightning as I have not seen it so for some years; which
'people did take great notice of.'¹

28. As in the case of Charles II., so of James II., an elaborate description of the pageant is preserved.² He was crowned, as his brother had been, on the 23rd of April, the Feast of St. George.

Coronation
of James II.
April 23,
1688.

The presence of the Queen and of the Peeresses gave to the solemnity a charm which had been wanting to the magnificent inauguration of the late King. Yet those who remembered that inauguration pronounced that there was a great falling-off. . . . James ordered an estimate to be made of the cost of the procession from the Tower, and found that it would amount to about half as much as he proposed to expend in covering his wife with trinkets. He accordingly determined to be profuse where he ought to have been frugal, and niggardly where he might pardonably have been profuse. More than a hundred thousand pounds were laid out in dressing the Queen, and the procession from the Tower was omitted. The folly of this course is obvious. If pageantry be of any use in politics, it is of use as a means of striking the imagination of the multitude. It is surely the height of absurdity to shut out the populace from a show of which the main object is to make an impression on the populace. James would have shown a more judicious munificence and a more judicious parsimony, if he had traversed London from east to west with the accustomed pomp, and had ordered the robes of his wife to be somewhat less thickly set with pearls and diamonds. His example was, however, long followed by his successors; and sums which, well employed, would have afforded exquisite gratification to a large part of the nation, were squandered on an exhibition to which only three or four thousand privileged persons were admitted.

James had ordered Sancroft to abridge the Ritual. The reason publicly assigned was that the day was too short for all that was to be done. But whoever examines the changes which were made will see that the real object was to remove some things highly offensive to the religious feelings of a zealous Roman Catholic. The Communion Service was not read.³ . . .

Francis Turner, Bishop of Ely, preached. He was one of those

¹ Pepys, April 23, 1661.—There was no coronation for the Queen-Consort in 1662.

² Sandford's *History of the Coronation of James II.*

³ The Coronation Oath is said to have been altered. (Oldmixon, ii. 695.) The ceremony of the presentation of the Bible was not yet a fixed part of the Ritual.

writers who still affected the obsolete style of Archbishop Williams and Bishop Andrews. The sermon was made up of quaint conceits, such as seventy years earlier might have been admired, but such as moved the scorn of a generation accustomed to the purer eloquence of Sprat, of South, and of Tillotson. King Solomon was King James. Adonijah was Monmouth. Joab was a Rye-house conspirator; Shimei, a Whig libeller; Abiathar, an honest but misguided old cavalier. One phrase in the Book of Chronicles was construed to mean that the King was above the Parliament, and another was cited to prove that he alone ought to command the militia. Towards the close of the discourse, the orator very timidly alluded to the new and embarrassing position in which the Church stood with reference to the sovereign, and reminded his hearers that the Emperor Constantius Chlorus, though not himself a Christian, had held in honour those Christians who remained true to their religion, and had treated with scorn those who sought to earn his favour by apostasy. The service in the Abbey was followed by a stately banquet in the Hall, the banquet by brilliant fireworks, and the fireworks by much bad poetry.¹

The crown had tottered on James's head. Henry Sidney, as Keeper of the Robes, held it up. 'This,' he said, 'is not the first time our family has supported the crown.'²

29. The same apprehensions that Fuller entertained when he recorded the coronation of Charles I., under the feeling that it might be the last, were doubtless felt by many a William and Mary. spectator of the events which succeeded the coronation of James II., that this again would not be followed by another. The legitimate line was broken: the successor was neither an Englishman nor an Anglican. But with that tenacity of ancient forms which distinguished the Revolution of 1688, the rite of Coronation, so far from being set aside, was now first sanctioned by Act of Parliament.³ Sanction of their coronation by Parliament. It owed this recognition, doubtless, to the Coronation Oath, which had always been treated as the safeguard of the liberties of the English Church and nation, and was now, for the first time since the Reformation, altered into conformity with the actual usages of the kingdom, to maintain 'the Pro-

¹ Macaulay, i. 473, 474.

² Oldmixon, i. 195; North, ii. 126. Three relics of James II.'s coronation remain:—1. The music, then first used, of Purcell and Blow. (Planché, p. 52.) 2. The tapestry, preserved in Westminster School and in the Jerusalem

Chamber, of which two of the pieces, those of the Circumcision of Isaac and of Goliath, can be identified in Sandford's engravings. 3. The attendance of the Westminster Scholars. (Sandford, 83.)

³ 1 William and Mary, c. 14.

'testant religion as established by law.'¹ 'From this time,' said a speaker in the House of Commons, 'the English will date their liberty and their laws from William and Mary, not from St. Edward Confessor.'²

The procession at their coronation, as in the case of James II., took place not from the Tower, but from the Palace of Whitehall. It was delayed more than two hours (from 11 A.M. to 1.30 P.M.), perhaps by the press of business consequent on the alarming intelligence, which had reached the King and Queen not long before, of the landing of James II. in Ireland.³

At last they appeared. There were many peculiarities in the spectacle. The double coronation was such as had never been seen before. The short King and tall Queen walked side by side, not as king and consort, but as joint sovereigns, with the sword between them. For the first time a second chair of state was provided, which has since been habitually used for the Queens-consort. Into this chair Mary was lifted, like her husband, girt with the sword, and invested with the symbols of sovereignty. The Princess Anne, who stood near, said, 'Madam, I pity your fatigue.' The Queen turned sharply, with the words, 'A crown, sister, is not so heavy as it seems.'⁴ Behind the altar rose, for the first time, above the Confessor's Chapel, the seats of the assembled Commons. There was a full attendance of the lay magnates of the realm, including even some who had voted for a Regency. Amongst the gifts was (revived from the coronation of Edward VI. and the installation of Cromwell) the presentation, continued from this time henceforward, of the Bible as 'the most valuable thing that this world affords.'⁵

The show of Bishops, indeed, was scanty. The Primate did not make his appearance; and his place was supplied by Compton. On one side of Compton, the paten was carried by Lloyd, Bishop of St.

¹ For the whole question of the alteration of the Coronation Oath, see Macanlay, iii. 114-117.

² The Declaration against Transubstantiation, required from the sovereign by the Bill of Rights (1 W. and M. c. 2, § 2), was made in the Abbey, down to the coronation of George IV. Since that time it has (in pursuance with the provisions of the

same Act) been read previously before the two Houses of Parliament.

³ Clarke's *James II.*, ii. 328, 329; Dalrymple's *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 15; Lamberty, quoted in Strickland, xi. 21. James II. landed at Kinsale on March 12.

⁴ Oldmixon's *Hist. of England*; William and Mary, p. 8.

⁵ Maskell, iii. p. cxix. Coronation Service of William and Mary.

Asaph, eminent among the seven confessors of the preceding year. On the other side Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, lately a member of the High Commission, had charge of the chalice [as Dean of Westminster]. Burnet, the junior prelate, preached [on the last words of David the son of Jesse¹] with all his wonted ability, and more than his wonted taste and judgment. His grave and eloquent discourse was polluted neither by adulation nor by malignity. He is said to have been greatly applauded; and it may well be believed that the animated peroration, in which he implored Heaven to bless the royal pair with long life and mutual love, with obedient subjects, wise counsellors, and faithful allies, with gallant fleets and armies, with victory, with peace, and finally with crowns more glorious and more durable than those which then glittered on the altar of the Abbey, drew forth the loudest hums of the Commons.²

There were, of course, bad omens observed by the Jacobites. The day was, for the first time, neither a Sunday nor a holyday. The King had no money for the accustomed offering of twenty guineas, and it was supplied by Danby.³ The way from the Abbey to the Palace was lined with Dutch soldiers. The medals had on their reverse a chariot, which was interpreted to be that on which Tullia drove over her father's body. The more scurrilous lampoons represented a boxing-match between the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of London in the Abbey, and the Champion riding up the hall on an ass which kicked over the royal tables.⁴ The Champion's glove was reported to have been carried off by an old woman upon crutches. 'I heard the sound of his gauntlet when he flung it on the ground,' says a spectator; 'but as the light in Westminster Hall had utterly failed, no person could distinguish what was done.'⁵

30. The coronation of Anne, the last Stuart sovereign, had been fixed long before to be, as that of her father and uncle, on St. George's Day; and so it took place, though William had been buried but ten days before. The Queen was carried, owing to her gout, from St. James's to the Abbey.⁶ The duties of Lord Great Chamberlain were performed by Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough. Her train was

Coronation
of Anne,
April 23,
1702.

¹ Narcissus Luttrell's *Diary*, i. 521.
2 Sam. xxiii. 3, 4: 'He that ruleth
'over man must be just, ruling in the
'fear of God. And he shall be as the
'light of the morning, when the sun
'riseth, even a morning without clouds:
'as the tender grass springing out of

'the earth by clear shining after
'rain.'

³ Macaulay, iii. 188, 199.

⁴ Lamberty in Strickland, xii. 24.

⁵ Macaulay, iii. 120.

⁶ Lamberty in Strickland, xi. 27.

⁷ Taylor, p. 111.

carried by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. Archbishop Tenison crowned her.¹ Sharp, Archbishop of York, preached the sermon on Isa. xlix. 23, 'Kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and their 'queens thy nursing mothers'—doubtless in the expectation, not altogether fruitless, of the advantages that the Church of England would derive from 'the bounty of good Queen Anne.' One important place was vacant. The Bishop of Bath and Wells, who should have supported her left side, was absent. For Ken was in his nonjuring retirement, and Kidder was in disgrace.² It was remembered that the high offices of the Dukes of Normandy and Aquitaine were represented by Jonathan Andrews and James Clark.³ The Queen received the homage of her husband, Prince George of Denmark, in the same form as that of the English nobles.

31. George I.'s coronation was an awkward reconciliation between the two contending factions and nations. The ceremonies had to be explained by the ministers, who could not speak German, to the King, who could not speak English, in Latin, which they must both have spoken very imperfectly. Hence the saying, that much 'bad 'language' passed between them.⁴ Bolingbroke and Oxford endeavoured to propitiate the new dynasty by assisting at the coronation—Atterbury, by offering to the King the perquisites which he might have claimed as Dean.⁵ Bishop Talbot preached the sermon. The day was celebrated at Oxford by Jacobite degrees, and at Bristol by Jacobite riots.⁶

In this reign a permanent change was effected in one of the accompaniments of the coronation,—namely, the new arrangement of the Knights of the Bath. In the earlier coronations, it had been the practice of the sovereigns to create a number of knights before they started on their procession from the Tower. These knights being made in time of peace, were not enrolled in any existing order, and for a long period had no special designation; but, inasmuch as one of the most striking and characteristic parts of their admission was the complete ablution of their persons on the vigil of their

Coronation
of George I.
(Oct. 20,
1714.

The Order
of the Bath.

¹ It is said that she had negotiated for Ken to crown her (Strickland, xii. 48). But this would hardly have been done without expelling Tenison.

² Ibid.

³ Taylor, p. 105.

⁴ Chapters, p. 188.

⁵ Oldmixon, ii. 578.

⁶ Stanhope's *England*, vol. i. 167. The additional securities for the Church of England were now added to the Coronation Oath in consequence of those granted to the Church of Scotland in the Act of the Union.

kighthood, as an emblem of the cleanliness and purity of their future profession, they were called Knights of 'the Bath.'¹ The King himself bathed on the occasion with them. They were completely undressed, placed in large baths, and then wrapped in soft blankets.² The distinctive name first appears in the time of Henry V. The ceremony had always taken place at Westminster; the bath in the Painted or Prince's Chamber, and the vigils either before the Confessor's Shrine, or (since the Reformation) in Henry VII.'s Chapel. Edward II. was thus knighted, at his father's coronation; and the crowd was so great that two knights were suffocated.³ Evelyn saw 'the bathing of the knights, preparatory to the coronation of Charles II., in the Painted Chamber.'⁴ The badge which they wore was emblematic of the sacredness of their Order—three garlands twisted together in honour of the Holy Trinity, and supposed to be derived from Arthur, founder of British chivalry. The motto—with a somewhat questionable orthodoxy—was, '*Tria numina juncta in uno.*' The badge was altered in the reign of James I., who, by a no less audacious secularisation, left out *numina*, in order to leave the interpretation open for 'the junction in one' of the three kingdoms (*tria regna*) of England, Scotland, and Ireland.⁵ The Shamrock was added to the Rose and Thistle after the Union with Ireland, 1802.⁶

It occurred to Sir Robert Walpole to reconstruct the Order, by the limitation of its members to persons of merit, and by the title, thus fitly earned, of 'the most honourable.'

1725.

It is said that his main object was to provide himself with a means of resisting the constant applications for the Order of the Garter. As such he offered it to Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, for her grandson. 'No,' she said, 'nothing but the Garter.' 'Madam,' said Walpole, 'they who take the Bath will the sooner have the Garter.'⁷

The first knight created under the new statutes was William

¹ The most remarkable 'bath' ever taken by a knight, for this purpose, was that of the Tribune Rienzi in the porphyry font of Constantine, in the Baptistery of St. John Lateran. The words 'dub a knight' are said to be taken from the dip, 'doob,' in the bath.

² Nichols's *History of the Orders*, iii. 341.

³ Brayley's *Westminster*, p. 97.

⁴ Diary, April 19, 1661.

⁵ Nichols, pp. 37, 38, 46.

⁶ Ibid. pp. 192, 194.

⁷ Nichols, p. 39.

Quoth King Robin, 'Our Ribbons,

I see, are too few—

Of St. Andrew's the Green, and St.

George's the Blue,

I must find out another of colour more gay,

That will teach all my subjects with pride to obey.'

(Swift's Works, xii. 369.)

Duke of Cumberland, son of the future King, George II. The child—afterwards to grow up into the fierce champion of his house—was but four years old, and was, ‘by reason of his ‘tender age,’ excused from the bath. But he presented his little sword at the altar; and the other knights were duly bathed in the Prince’s Chamber, and kept their vigil in Henry VII.’s Chapel, where also the installation took place, as has been the case ever since. The number of knights (36) was fixed to correspond with the number of the stalls in the Chapel. Every 20th of October—the anniversary of George I.’s coronation—a procession of the knights was to take place to the Chapel, with a solemn service.¹ On occasion of an installation, they proceeded after the service, in their scarlet robes and white plumes, to a banquet in the Prince’s Chamber. The royal cook stood at the door of the Abbey, with his cleaver, threatening to strike off the spurs from the heels of any knight who proved unworthy of his knightly vows.² The highest functionary was the Great Master, an office first filled by Montagu, Earl of Halifax. In 1749 Lord Delamere asked the place for the Duke of Montagu, who died in that year; and from that time—to prevent the recurrence of such a precedence—no Great Master has been appointed, a Prince always acting on his behalf.³ Next to him ranks the Dean of Westminster, as Dean of the Order. The selection of a dean rather than a bishop arose from the circumstance that the statutes were framed on the model of those of the Order of the Thistle, which, being established in Scotland during the abeyance of Episcopacy, had no place for a prelate amongst its officers. According to this Presbyterian scheme, the Dean of Westminster was naturally chosen, both from his position as the chief Presbyter in the Church of England, and also from his connection with the Abbey in which the ceremony was to take place. It was his duty to receive the swords of the knights, lay them on the altar (erected for the purpose),

Installations
of the
Knights of
the Bath.

¹ Nichols, pp. 47, 52.

² The whole scene is represented in a picture, painted by Canaletti for Bishop Wilcocks, in 1747, now in the Deanery. (See Chapter VI.) From this picture it would appear that on that occasion the procession came out by the west door. In 1803 (see *Gent. Mag.*, lxxiii. pt. 1, p. 460), it entered and retired by Poets’ Corner; and the cook accordingly stood, not (as in 1747)

at the west entrance, but at the South Transept door. ‘Each of the knights bowed to him, and touched their hats. ‘Some of them asked whether there were any fees to pay; to which he answered, he would do himself the honour to call upon them. We understand that he receives four guineas for this extraordinary speech.’

³ Nichols, p. 82.

and restore them to their owners with suitable admonitions. Under the altar were placed the banners of the deceased knights, during which ceremony the Dead March in Saul was played.¹

The installations continued, at intervals more or less remote, till 1812, under the Regency, since which time they have ceased. In 1839 the Order underwent so extensive an enlargement and alteration, that no banners have since been added to those then hung in the Chapel.

One remarkable degradation and restitution has taken place. Earl Dundonald's banner was, after the charges of fraud brought against him in 1814, taken from its place, Lord Dundonald's banner. and ignominiously kicked down the steps of the Chapel. After many vicissitudes, it was restored to the family upon his death; and in 1860, on the day of his funeral in the Abbey, by order of the Queen, was restored by the Herald of the Order to its ancient support. Underneath the vacant place of the shield an unknown admirer has rudely carved, in Spanish, '*Cochrane—Chili y Libertad viva!*'

32. We return to the ordinary routine of the royal Coronation of George II., Oct. 11, 1727. inaugurations.

The coronation of George II.² was performed with all the pomp and magnificence that could be contrived; the present King differing so much from the last, that all the pageantry and splendour, badges and trappings of royalty, were as pleasing to the son as they were irksome to the father. The dress of the Queen on this occasion was as fine as the accumulated riches of the city and suburbs could make it; for besides her own jewels (which were a great number, and very valuable), she had on her head and on her shoulders, all the pearls she could borrow of the ladies of quality at one end of the town, and on her petticoat all the diamonds she could hire of the Jews and jewellers at the other; so that the appearance of her finery was a mixture of magnificence and meanness, not unlike the *éclat* of royalty in many other particulars when it comes to be really examined, and the sources traced to what money hires or flattery lends.³

¹ *Gent. Mag. ut supra.*—In 1803 the Queen and Princesses sat in the Dean's Gallery, at the south-west corner of the Nave, and were afterwards entertained in the Deanery. The knights, in their passage round the Nave, halted and made obeisance to them, the trumpets sounding the whole time of the procession.

² For a quarrel with the Dean on

this occasion, see Chapter Book, November 4, 1727. The '*Veni Creator*' was omitted by mistake. (Lambeth Coronation Service.) Bishop Potter preached the sermon, on 2 Chron. ix. 8. (*Calamy's Life*, ii. 501.)

³ Lord Hervev, i. 88, 89.—This was caused by the loss of Queen Anne's jewels.

33. 'The coronation of George III.¹ is over,' says Horace Walpole,—

'Tis even a more gorgeous sight than I imagined. I saw the procession and the Hall; but the return was in the dark. In the morning they had forgot the sword of state, the chairs for King and Queen, and their canopies. They used the Lord Mayor's for the first, and made the last in the Hall: so they did not set forth till noon; and then, by a childish compliment to the King, reserved the illumination of the Hall till his entry, by which means they arrived like a funeral, nothing being discernible but the plumes of the Knights of the Bath, which seemed the hearse. . . . My Lady Townshend said she should be very glad to see a coronation, as she never had seen one. 'Why,' said I, 'Madam, you walked at the last?' 'Yes, child,' said she, 'but I saw nothing of it: I only looked to "see who looked at me."' The Duchess of Queensberry walked! Her affectation that day was to do nothing preposterous. . . . For the coronation, if a puppet-show could be worth a million, that is. The multitudes, balconies, guards, and processions, made Palace Yard the liveliest spectacle in the world: the Hall was the most glorious. The blaze of lights, the richness and variety of habits, the ceremonial, the benches of peers and peeresses, frequent and full, was as awful as a pageant can be; and yet for the King's sake and my own, I never wish to see another; nor am impatient to have my Lord Effingham's promise fulfilled. The King complained that so few precedents were kept for their proceedings. Lord Effingham owned, the Earl Marshal's office had been strangely neglected; but he had taken such care for the future, that the next coronation would be regulated in the most exact manner imaginable. The number of peers and peeresses present was not very great; some of the latter, with no excuse in the world, appeared in Lord Lincoln's gallery, and even walked about the Hall indecently in the intervals of the procession. My Lady Harrington, covered with all the diamonds she could borrow, hire, or seize, and with the air of Roxana, was the finest figure at a distance; she complained to George Selwyn that she was to walk with Lady Portsmouth, who would have a wig, and a stick. 'Pho,' said he, 'you will only look as if you were taken up by the constable.' She told this everywhere, thinking the reflection was on my Lady Portsmouth. Lady Pembroke, alone at the head of the countesses, was the picture of majestic modesty; the Duchess of Richmond as pretty as nature and dress, with no pains of

¹ It is noted, that whereas few gave half-a-guinea for places to see George II.'s coronation, and for an apartment forty guineas, in the time of George III. front seats along the line of pro-

cession cost ten guineas, and a similar apartment three hundred and fifty. (*Gent. Mag.* 1821, pt. ii. p. 77. Walpole's *Letters*, iii. 445.)

her own, could make her; Lady Spencer, Lady Sutherland, and Lady Northampton, very pretty figures. Lady Kildare, still beauty itself, if not a little too large. The ancient peeresses were by no means the worst party: Lady Westmoreland, still handsome, and with more dignity than all; the Duchess of Queensberry looked well, though her locks milk white; Lady Albemarle very genteel; nay, the middle age had some good representatives in Lady Holderness, Lady Rochford, and Lady Stafford, the perfectest little figure of all. My Lady Suffolk ordered her robes, and I dressed part of her head, as I made some of my Lord Hertford's dress; for you know, no profession comes amiss to me, from a tribune of the people to a habit-maker. Don't imagine that there were not figures as excellent on the other side: old Exeter, who told the King he was the handsomest man she ever saw; old Effingham and a Lady Say and Seale, with her hair powdered and her tresses black, were an excellent contrast to the handsome. Lord B— put on rouge upon his wife and the Duchess of Bedford in the Painted Chamber; the Duchess of Queensberry told me of the latter, that she looked like an orange-peach, half red and half yellow. The coronets of the peers and their robes disguised them strangely; it required all the beauty of the Dukes of Richmond and Marlborough to make them noticed. One there was, though of another species, the noblest figure I ever saw, the High Constable of Scotland, Lord Errol; as one saw him in a space capable of containing him, one admired him. At the wedding, dressed in tissue, he looked like one of the giants in Guildhall, new gilt. It added to the energy of his person, that one considered him acting so considerable a part in that very Hall, where so few years ago one saw his father, Lord Kilmarnock, condemned to the block. The champion acted his part admirably, and dashed down his gauntlet with proud defiance. His associates, Lord Effingham, Lord Talbot, and the Duke of Bedford, were woeful; Lord Talbot piqued himself on backing his horse down the Hall, and not turning its rump towards the King, but he had taken such pains to dress it to that duty, that it entered backwards: and at his retreat the spectators clapped, a terrible indecorum, but suitable to such Bartholomew-fair doings. He had twenty *demelés*, and came out of none creditably. He had taken away the table of the Knights of the Bath, and was forced to admit two in their old place, and dine the others in the Court of Requests. Sir William Stanhope said, 'We are ill-treated, for *some of us* are gentlemen.' Beckford told the Earl it was hard to refuse a table to the City of London, whom it would cost ten thousand pounds to banquet the King, and that his lordship would repent it, if they had not a table in the Hall; they had. To the barons of the Cinque-ports, who made the same complaint, he said, 'If you come to me as Lord Steward, I tell you, it is impossible; if as Lord Talbot, 'I am a match for any of you;' and then he said to Lord Bute, 'If I were a minister, thus I would talk to France, to Spain, to the Dutch

'—none of your half measures.'¹ He had not much more dignity than the figure of General Monk in the Abbey. . . . Well, it was all delightful, but not half so charming as its being over.

The English representatives of the Dukes of Aquitaine and Normandy appeared for the last time,² and with them the last relics of our dominion over France vanished.³ Another incident, interpreted in a more ominous manner, was the fall of the largest jewel from the crown, which was afterwards believed to have foretold the loss of America.⁴

When Pitt resign'd, a nation's tears will own,
Then fell the brightest jewel of the crown.

Archbishop Secker, who officiated, had baptized, confirmed, and married the King. Bishop Drummond preached on 1 Kings x. 9. The princely style in which the young King seated himself after the ceremony attracted general notice. 'No actor in the character of Pyrrhus in the *Distrest Mother*' (says an eye-witness⁵), 'not even Booth himself, ever ascended 'the throne with so much grace and dignity.' It was also observed that as the King was about to receive the Holy Communion, he inquired of the Archbishop whether he should not lay aside his crown. The Archbishop asked the Dean of Westminster (Zachary Pearce) but neither knew, nor could say, what was the usual form.⁶ The King then took it off, saying, 'There ought to be one.' He wished the Queen to do the same, but the crown was fastened to her hair.⁷ It is not clearly known what George IV. and William IV. did;⁸ but in the coronation of Queen Victoria, the Rubric ran, and doubtless henceforth will run, 'The Queen, taking off her crown, kneels 'down.'

But the most interesting peculiarity of George III.'s coro-

¹ Walpole's *Letters*, iii. 437, 438, 440-445. The most 'diverting incident' of the day is told in iii. 440. See also the account by Bonnell Thornton in *Chapters*, pp. 185-192; and *Gent. Mag.* (1761), pp. 414-416. The Champion rode the white charger that carried George II. on the battlefield of Dettingen. (*Ann. Reg.* 1861, p. 232.)

² *Gent. Mag.*, 1761, p. 419.—They ranked before the Archbishop of Canterbury.

³ The claims of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster were made in *Old*

French and English. (Chapter Book, July 31, 1761.)

⁴ Hughes's *England*, xiv. 49; *Anecdotes of Chatham*, iii. 383.

⁵ *Life of Bishop Newton* (by himself), i. 84. He was Prebendary of Westminster at the time.

⁶ Maskell, iii. pp. li. and liii.

⁷ Hughes, xiv. 49.

⁸ The crown was worn at that part of the service by Henry VI. and Henry VIII., but was not worn by Charles II. (Maskell, iii. p. liii.)

nation was the unseen attendance of the rival to the throne—Prince Charles Edward.¹ ‘I asked my Lord Marshal,’ says David Hume, ‘the reason of this strange fact. “Ay,” says he, “a gentleman told me so who saw him there, and whispered in his ear, ‘Your Royal Highness is the last of all mortals whom I should expect to see here.’ “ ‘It was curiosity that led me,’ said the other; ‘but I assure you,’ added he, ‘that the person who is the cause of all this pomp and magnificence is the man I envy least.’”’²

Appearance
of Prince
Charles
Edward.

34. The splendour of the coronation of George IV. has been described by Sir Walter Scott³ too fully to need repetition. Many smaller incidents still survive in the recollection of those who were present. The heat of the day and the fatigue of the ceremony almost exhausted the somewhat portly Prince, who was found cooling himself, stripped of all his robes, in the Confessor’s Chapel, and at another part of the service was only revived by smelling salts accidentally provided by the Archbishop’s secretary. During the long ceremony of the homage which he received with visible expressions of disgust or satisfaction, as the peers of the contending parties came up, he was perpetually wiping his streaming face with innumerable handkerchiefs, which he handed in rapid succession to the Primate, who stood beside him. The form of the coronation oath, on which so many political struggles hinged during this and the preceding reign, had been forgotten; and the omission could only be rectified by requesting the King to make his signature at the foot of the oath, as printed in the service book, which was accordingly enrolled, instead of the usual engrossment on vellum.⁴

Corona-
tion of
George IV.
July 19,
1821.

¹ He was in London under the name of Mr. Brown. (*Gent. Mag.* 1764, p. 24.) See also the scene in Westminster Hall, described in *Redgauntlet*.

² Hume, in *Gent. Mag.*, 1773.

³ See *Gent. Mag.*, 1821, pt. ii. pp. 104–110. The Duke of Wellington acted as Lord High Constable, Lord Anglesey as Lord High Steward. The banquet was celebrated, and the Champion then appeared, probably for the last time. The sermon was preached by the Archbishop of York (Vernon), on the same text as that selected by Burnet for William III. (See p. 80.) The ceremony was rehearsed the week before in the Abbey and Hall. (*Ann. Register*, 1821, p. 344.) ‘Amongst the feudal services the two falcons of Lord

Derby, for the Isle of Man, were conspicuous. Seated on the wrist of his hawking gauntlet, the beautiful Peregrine falcons appeared, with their usual ornaments. The King descended from his chair of state, and the ladies of the court pressed round to caress and examine the noble birds.’ The claim had been made and conceded at the coronation of Charles II. The coronation oath was altered to meet the new phraseology introduced by the union with the Church of Ireland, destined to be again altered by the recent Act for dissolving it.

⁴ I owe these incidents to various eyewitnesses, chiefly to Mr. Christopher Hodgson, then acting as secretary to Archbishop Sutton.

But the most remarkable feature of the day was that it furnished the materials for what was, in fact, a political battle between the King and his Queen, almost between the King and his people. 'Everyone went in the morning with very uncomfortable feelings and dread.'¹ On the one side the magnificence of the pageant, on the other side the failure of the ill-advised attempt of Queen Caroline to enter the Abbey, by a combination of feelings not altogether unusual, and not creditable to the judgment of the English people, produced a complete reaction in favour of the successful husband against the unsuccessful wife.² The Queen, after vainly appealing to the Privy Council, to the Prime Minister, and to the Earl Marshal, rashly determined to be present. At 6 o'clock on the morning of the day, she drove from South Audley Street to Dean's Yard.³ Within the Precincts at that hour there were as yet but a few of the Abbey officials on the alert. One of them⁴ was standing in the West Cloister when he saw the Queen approach, accompanied by Lord Hood. Just at the point where the Woodfall monument is now placed, they encountered a gentleman, in court costume, belonging to the opposite party, who hissed repeatedly in her face. Whilst Lord Hood motioned him aside with a deprecating gesture, she passed on into the North Cloister, and thence to the East Cloister door, the only one on that side available, where she was repulsed by two stalwart porters, who (in the absence of our modern police) were guarding the entrance. She then hastened back, and crossed the great platform in St. Margaret's Churchyard, erected for the outside procession. It was observed by those who watched her closely that her under lip quivered incessantly, the only mark of agitation. She thus reached⁵ the regular approach by Poets' Corner. Sir Robert Inglis, then a young man, was charged with the duty of keeping order at that point. He heard a cry that the Queen was coming. He flew (such was his account), rather than ran, to the door of the South Transept. She was leaning on Lord Hood's arm. He had but a moment to make up his mind how to meet her. 'It

Attempted
entrance of
Queen
Caroline.

¹ *Life of Lord Eldon*, ii. 428.

² In Secker's copy of the service of George III.'s coronation, used as the basis of that of George IV., the orders for the Queen's appearance were significantly erased throughout.

³ *Gent. Mag.* 1824, pt. ii. p. 73; *Ann. Register*, 1831, p. 347.

⁴ From this young official now and for many years the respected organist of the Abbey, I derive this part of the narrative.

⁵ This is taken from Mr. Almack, who was on the platform, and followed her.

'is my duty,' he said, 'to announce to your Majesty that there is no place in the Abbey prepared for your Majesty.' The Queen paused, and replied, 'Am I to understand that you prevent me from entering the Abbey?' 'Madam,' he answered, in the same words, 'it is my duty to announce to you that there is no place provided for your Majesty in the Abbey.' She turned without a word.¹ This was the final repulse. She who had come with deafening cheers retired in dead silence.² She was seen to weep as she re-entered³ her carriage. Her old coachman, it is said, had for the first time that morning harnessed the horses reluctantly, conscious that the attempt would be a failure. On the following day she wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury (Manners-Sutton), expressing her desire to be crowned some days after the King, and before the arrangements were done away with, so that there might be no additional expense. The Primate answered that he could not act except under orders from the King.⁴ In a few weeks she was dead; and her remains—carried with difficulty through the tumultuous streets of London, where the tide of popularity had again turned in her favour, and greeted with funeral welcomes at every halting-place in Germany—reposed finally, not in Windsor or Westminster, but in her ancestral vault at Brunswick.⁵

35. As George IV. had conciliated the popular favour by the splendour of his coronation, so, in the impending tempests of the Reform agitation, William IV. endeavoured to do the like by the reverse process. A question was even raised, both by the King in correspondence⁶ with his ministers, and by a peer in the House of Lords, whether the coronation might not be dispensed with. There was no procession, and the banquet, for the first time, was omitted. Queen Adelaide was crowned with her husband.⁷ The day was the anniversary of her father's wedding.

Coronation
of William
IV.
Thursday,
Sept. 8,
1831.

¹ I have given this account as I heard it from Sir R. Inglis. A longer narrative of the dialogue between Lord Hood and the doorkeepers is given in the *Gent. Mag.* 1821, pt. i. p. 74.

² Or with mingled cries of 'The Queen!—the Queen!' or 'Shame! shame!' (*Ibid.* p. 37.)

³ *Life of Lord Eldon*, ii. 428.

⁴ *Gent. Mag.* 1821, pt. ii. p. 75.

⁵ It is recorded that the *town boys* of Westminster School first acquired at George IV.'s Coronation the privilege of attending, which had been before confined to the scholars.

⁶ *Correspondence of William IV. and Earl Grey*, i. 301, 302.

⁷ *Gent. Mag.* 1831, pp. 219–230; *Ann. Register*, 1831.

36. The last coronation¹ doubtless still lives in the recollection of all who witnessed it. They will long remember the early summer morning, when, at break of day, the streets were thronged, and the whole capital awake—the first sight of the Abbey, crowded with the mass of gorgeous spectators, themselves a pageant—the electric shock through the whole mass, when the first gun announced that the Queen was on her way—and the thrill of expectation with which the iron rails seemed to tremble in the hands of the spectators, as the long procession closed with the entrance of the small figure, marked out from all beside by the regal train and attendants, floating like a crimson and silvery cloud behind her. At the moment when she first came within the full view of the Abbey, and paused, as if for breath, with clasped hands,—as she moved on, to her place by the altar,—as in the deep silence of the vast multitude, the tremulous voice of Archbishop Howley could be faintly heard, even to the remotest corners of the Choir, asking for the recognition,—as she sate immovable on the throne, when the crown touched her head, amidst shout and trumpet and the roar of cannon, there must have been many who felt a hope that the loyalty which had waxed cold in the preceding reigns would once more revive, in a more serious form than it had, perhaps, ever worn before.² Other solemnities they may have seen more beautiful, or more strange, or more touching, but none at once so gorgeous and so impressive, in recollections, in actual sight, and in promise of what was to be.

With this fairy vision ends for us the series of the most continuous succession of events that the Abbey has witnessed.

Conclusion. None such belongs to any other building in the world. The coronations of the Kings of France at Reims, and

¹ The coronation service was abridged, in consideration of the occasion. But it was thought unnecessary (as heretofore) to insert in the Rubric an order that the sermon should be 'short.' The day was changed from June 26 to June 28, to avoid the anniversary of George IV.'s death, and by so doing infringed on the Vigil of the Feast of St. Peter, which led to a characteristic sonnet from the Oxford Poet of that time—Isaac Williams. The procession was partly revived by the cavalcade from Buckingham Palace. The House of Commons joined for the first time in

the ceremony, by nine loud and hearty cheers after the homage of the Peers. (*Gent. Mag.* 1838, pt. ii. p. 198.)

² For the best expression which has perhaps ever been given of the full religious aspect of an English Coronation, I cannot forbear to refer to the sermon preached on that day, in the parish church of Ambleside, by Dr. Arnold. (*Sermons*, iv. 438.) The 'short and suitable sermon' in the Abbey on the last two occasions was, in 1831 on 1 Pet. ii. 13, in 1838 on 2 Chron. xxxiv. 31, preached by Bishop Blomfield.

of the Popes in the Basilica of the Vatican, most nearly approach it. But Reims is now deserted, and the present Church of St. Peter is by five centuries more modern than the Abbey. The Westminster Coronations are thus the outward expression of the grandeur of the English monarchy. They serve to mark the various turns in the winding road along which it has passed to its present form. They reflect the various proportions in which its elective and its hereditary character have counterbalanced each other. They contain, on the one hand, in the Recognition, the Enthronisation, and the Oath, the utterances of the 'fierce democracy' of the people of England. They contain, on the other hand, in the Uncction, the Crown, the Fatal Stone, in the sanction of the prelates and the homage of the nobles, the primitive regard for sacred places, sacred relics, consecrated persons, and heaven-descended right, lingering on through all the counteracting tendencies of change and time. They show the effect produced, even on minds and circumstances least congenial, by the combination of this sentiment with outward display and antique magnificence. They exhibit the curious devices, half political and half religious, by which new or unpopular sovereigns have been propped up—the Confessor's grave for William the Conqueror; the miraculous oil for Henry IV.; the Stone of Scone for Edward II., for James I., and for Oliver Cromwell; the unusual splendour for Richard III., for Anne Boleyn, and George IV.; the Oath and the Bible for William III. They show us the struggles for precedence, leading to outbreaks of the wildest passions, and the most deadly feuds between magnates not only of the State but of the clergy. The Norman Lanfranc aimed his heaviest blow at the Anglo-Saxon Church by wresting the coronation from Aldred of York. The supreme conflict of Becket resulted from the infringement of his archiepiscopal rights in the coronation of Prince Henry. The keenest insult that Laud could inflict on his neighbour Williams was by superseding him at the coronation of Charles I. Queen Caroline sunk under her exclusion from the coronation of George IV.

The Coronation Service—at once the most ancient and the most flexible portion of the Anglican Ritual—reveals the changes of ceremony and doctrine, and at the same time the unity of sentiment and faith, which escape us in the stiffer forms of the ordinary Liturgy. In its general structure it represents the complex relations of the civil and ecclesiastical polity of

England. In its varying details it exhibits the combination of the opposite elements which have formed the peculiar tone of the English Church.

The personal characters of the sovereigns make themselves felt even in these merely ceremonial functions :—the iron nerves of the Conqueror for an instant shaken; the generosity of Cœur-de-Lion; the martial spirit of Edward I.; the extravagance of Richard II.; the parsimony of Henry VII.; the timidity of James I.; the fancifulness of Charles I.; the decorous reverence of George III.; the heartlessness of George IV. The political and religious movements of the time have likewise stamped their mark on these transitory scenes. The struggles of the Saxon and Norman elements, not yet united, under the Conqueror; the fanatical hatred against the Jews, under Richard I.; the jealousy of the Crown under John, and of the Court favourites under Edward II.; the claims of the conflicting dynasties under Edward IV. and Henry VII.; the heavings of the Reformation under Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth; the prognostications of the Rebellion under Charles I.; the enthusiasm of the Restoration under Charles II.; the triumph of the Constitution under William III.; the economical spirit of the Reform era under William IV.;—could be noted in the successive inaugurations of those sovereigns, even though all other records of their reigns were lost.

Yet still the Coronations are but as the outward wave of English history. They break over the Abbey, as they break over the country, without leaving any permanent mark. With the two exceptions of the Stone of Scone and the banners of the Knights of the Bath, they left no trace in the structure of the building, unless where the scaffolding has torn away the feature of some honoured monument or the decoration of some ancient column. They belong to the form of the history, and not to its substance. The truth of the saying of Horace Walpole at the Coronation of George III. will probably be always felt at the time. ‘What is the finest sight in the world? A Coronation. What do people most talk about? A Coronation. What is the thing most delightful to have passed? A Coronation.’¹ But there are scenes more moving than the most splendid pageant, and there are incidents in the lives of sovereigns more characteristic of themselves and of their country even than their inaugurations. Such is the next series of

¹ Walpole's *Letters*, iii. 444.

events in the Abbey, which, whilst it exhibits to us far more clearly the personal traits of the Kings themselves, has also entered far more deeply into the vitals of the edifice. The close of each reign is the summary of the contents of each. The History of the Royal Tombs is the History of the Abbey itself.

CHAPTER III.

THE ROYAL TOMBS.

I HAVE left the repository of our English Kings for the contemplation of a day when I shall find my mind disposed for so serious an amusement. (*Spectator*, No. 26.)

SPECIAL AUTHORITIES.

Besides the notices in contemporary Chronicles and Histories, must be mentioned—

- I. The architectural descriptions of the Tombs in Dart, Neale, and Scott's *Gleanings of Westminster Abbey*.
- II. The notices of the Interments and of the Royal Vaults in—(a) The Burial Registers of the Abbey from 1606 to the present time; (b) Sandford's *Genealogical History of the Kings of England*, 1677; (c) *Monumenta Westmonasteriensia*, by H. K., i.e. Keepe, 1683; (d) *Antiquities of Westminster Abbey*, by Crull—sometimes under the name of H. S., sometimes of J. C.,—1711 and 1713; (e) MS. Records of the Heralds' College and the Lord Chamberlain's Office, to which my attention has been called by the kindness of Mr. Doyne Bell, who is engaged in a work on the 'Royal Interments,' which will bring to light many curious and exact details, not hitherto known respecting them. See also Appendix.

CHAPTER III.

THE ROYAL TOMBS.

THE burialplaces of Kings are always famous. The oldest and greatest buildings on the earth are Tombs of Kings—the Pyramids. The most wonderful revelation of the life of the ancient world is that which is painted in the ^{Tombs of Kings.} rock-hewn catacombs of the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes. The burial of the Kings of Judah was a kind of canonisation. In the vision of ‘all the Kings of the nations,’ ‘lying in glory, every one in his own house,’ the ancient prophets saw the august image of the nether world.

These burialplaces, however, according to the universal practice of antiquity, were mostly outside the precincts of the towns. The sepulchre of the race of David within the city of Jerusalem formed a solitary exception. The Roman Emperors were interred first in the mausoleum of Augustus, in the Campus Martius, beyond the walls—then in the mausoleum of Hadrian, on the farther side of the Tiber. The burial of Geta at the foot of the Pulatine, and of Trajan at the base of his Column, in the Forum which bears his name, were the first indications that the sanctity of the city might be invaded by the presence of imperial graves. It was reserved for Constantine to give the earliest example of the interment of sovereigns, not only within the walls of a city, but within a sacred building, when he and his successors were laid in the Church of the Apostles at Constantinople. This precedent was from that time followed both in East and West, and every European nation has now its royal consecrated cemetery.

But there are two peculiarities in Westminster which are hardly found elsewhere. The first is that it unites the Coronations with the Burials. The nearest approach to this is in Poland and Russia. In the cathedral of Cracow, by the shrine

of St. Stanislaus, the Becket of the Slavonic races, the Kings of Poland were crowned and buried from the thirteenth century to the dissolution of the kingdom.¹ In the Kremlin at Moscow stand side by side the three cathedrals of the Assumption, of the Annunciation, and of the Archangel. In the first the Czars are crowned; in the second they are married; and in the third, till the accession of Peter, they were buried. Only three royal marriages have taken place in the Abbey—those of Henry III., of Richard II., and of Henry VII. But its first coronation, as we have seen,² sprang out of its first royal grave. Its subsequent burials are the result of both. So Waller finely sang:

Peculiarities
of the Royal
Tombs in
West-
minster.

1. Com-
bination of
Coronations
with
Burials.

That antique pile behold,
Where royal heads receive the sacred gold:
It gives them crowns, and does their ashes keep,
There made like gods, like mortals there they sleep;
Making the circle of their reign complete,
These suns of empire, where they rise they set.³

So Jeremy Taylor preached:

Where our kings have been crowned, their ancestors lie interred, and they must walk over their grandsire's head to take his crown. There is an acre sown with royal seed, the copy of the greatest change, from rich to naked, from ceiled roofs to arched coffins, from living like gods to die like men. . . . There the warlike and the peaceful, the fortunate and the miserable, the beloved and the despised princes mingle their dust, and pay down their symbol of mortality, and tell all the world that, when we die, our ashes shall be equal to kings', and our accounts easier, and our pains or our crowns shall be less.⁴

So, before Waller and Jeremy Taylor, had spoken Francis Beaumont:

Mortality, behold and fear!
What a change of flesh is here:
Think how many royal bones
Sleep within these heaps of stones:
Here they lye, had realms and lands,
Who now want strength to stir their hands.
Here, from their pulpits seal'd with dust,
They preach, 'In greatness is no trust!'

¹ See Mr. Clark's description of it in *Vacation Tourists*, 1862, p. 239.
² Chapter II.

³ *On St. James's Park.*

⁴ *Rules of Holy Dying*, vol. iv. p. 344.

Here's an acre, sown indeed,
 With the richest royallest seed,
 That the earth did e'er drink in,
 Since the first man dy'd for sin.
 Here the bones of birth have cry'd,
 'Though gods they were, as men they dy'd.'
 Here are sands, ignoble things,
 Dropt from the ruin'd sides of kings.
 Here's a world of pomp and state,
 Buried in dust, once dead by fate.

The royal sepultures of Westminster were also remarkable from their connection not only with the coronation, but with the residence of the English Princes. The burial-places which, in this respect, the Abbey most resembles, were those of the Kings of Spain and the Kings of Scotland. 'In the Escorial, where the
 2. Combination of the Burials with the Royal Palace.
 'Spanish princes live in greatness and power, and decree war or peace, they have wisely placed a cemetery, where their ashes and their glory shall sleep till time shall be no more.' The like may be said of Dunfermline and of Holyrood, where the sepulchral Abbey and the Royal Palace are as contiguous as at Westminster. There has, however, been a constant tendency to separate the two. The Escorial is now almost as desolate as the stony wilderness of which it forms a part. The vault of the House of Hapsburg, in the Capuchin Church at Vienna, is far removed from the Imperial Palace. The royal race of Savoy rests on the steep heights of St. Michael and of the Superga. The early Kings of Ireland reposed in the now deserted mounds of Clonmacnoise,² by the lonely windings of the Shannon, as the early Kings of Scotland on the distant and sea-girt rock of Iona. The Kings of France not only were not crowned at St. Denys, but they never lived there—never came there. The town was a city of convents. Louis XIV. chose Versailles for his residence, because from the terrace at St. Germain's he could still see the hated Towers of the Abbey where he would be laid. But the Kings of England never seem to have feared the sight of death. The Anglo-Saxon

¹ Jeremy Taylor, *Rules of Holy Dying*, vol. iv. 344.

² 'How impressive the living splendour of the national mausoleum of England on the banks of the Thames, as compared with the neglected grave-

yard which holds the best blood of Ireland on the banks of the Shannon.' Petrie's remarks on Clonmacnoise, quoted in his *Life* by Dr. Stokes (p. 33).

Kings had for the most part been buried at Winchester, where they were crowned, and where they lived. The English Kings, as soon as they became truly English, were crowned, and lived, and died for many generations, at Westminster; and, even since they have been interred elsewhere, it is still under the shadow of their grandest royal residence, in St. George's Chapel, or in the precincts of Windsor Castle. Their graves, like their thrones, were in the midst of their own life and of the life of their people.¹

There is also a peculiar concentration of interest attached to the deaths and funerals of Kings in those days of our history with which we are here chiefly concerned. If the coronations of sovereigns were then far more important than they are now, so were their funeral pageants. 'The King never dies' is a constitutional maxim of which, except in very rare instances, the truth is at once recognised in all constitutional and in most modern monarchies. But in the Middle Ages, as has been truly remarked, the very reverse was the case. 'When the King died, the State seemed to die also. The functions of government were suspended. Felons were let loose from prison; for an offence against the law was also an offence against the King's person, which might die with him, or be wiped out in the contrite promises of his last agony.'² The spell of the King's peace became powerless. The nobles rushed to avenge their private quarrels in private warfare. On the royal forests, with their unpopular game, a universal attack was made. The highroads of commerce became perilous passes, or were obstructed; and a hundred vague schemes of ambition were concocted every day during which one could look on an empty throne and powerless tribunals.' In short, the funeral of the sovereign was the eclipse of the monarchy. Twice only, perhaps, in modern times has this feeling in any degree been reproduced, and then not in the case of the actual sovereign: once on the death of the queenlike Princess, Charlotte, and again on the death of the kinglike Prince, Albert.

¹ See Chapter IV.

² So William I.: 'Sicut opto salvari et per misericordiam Dei a meis reatibus absolvi, sic omnes mox carceres jubeo aperiri.' (*Ordericus Vit.*) Henry II.'s widow, 'for the sake of the soul of her Lord Henry,' had

offenders of all kinds discharged from prison in every county in England. (*Hoveden.*) I owe these references, as well as the passage itself, to an unpublished lecture of Professor Vaughan. Compare the description of Rome after a pope's decease in Mr. Cartwright's *Papal Conclaves*, p. 42.

In those early times of England, there was another meaning of more sinister import attached to the royal funerals. They furnished the security to the successor that the pre-^{4. Publicity of the Funerals.}decessor was really dead. Till the time of Henry VII. the royal corpses lay in state, and were carried exposed on biers, to satisfy this popular demand. More than once the body of a King, who had died under doubtful circumstances, was laid out in St. Paul's or the Abbey, with the face exposed, or bare from the waist upwards, that the suspicion of violence might be dispelled.¹

There was yet beyond this a general sentiment, intensified by the religious feeling of the Middle Ages, which brought the funerals and tombs of princes more directly into con-^{5. Connection of the Burials with the Services of the Church.}nection with the buildings where they were interred. The natural grief of a sovereign, or of a people, for the death of a beloved predecessor vents itself in the grandeur of the monuments which it raises over their graves. The sumptuous shrine on the coast of Caria, which Artemisia built for her husband Mausolus, and which has given its name to all similar structures—the magnificent Taj at Agra—the splendid memorials which commemorate the loss of the lamented Prince of our own day—are examples of the universality of this feeling, when it has the opportunity of indulging itself, under every form of creed and climate. But in the Middle Ages this received an additional impulse, from the desire on the part of the Kings, or their survivors, to establish, through their monumental buildings and their funeral services, a hold, as it were, on the other world. The supposed date of the release of the soul of a Plantagenet King from Purgatory was recorded in the English chronicles with the same certainty as any event in his life.² And to attain this end—in proportion to the devotional sentiment, sometimes we must even say in proportion to the weaknesses and vices, of the King—services were multiplied and churches adorned at every stage of the funeral, and with a view to the remotest ages to which hope or fear could look forward. The desire to catch prayers by all means, at all times and places, for the departed soul, even led to the dismemberment of the royal corpse; that so, by a heart here,

¹ Richard II., Henry VI., Edward IV., and Richard III. (at Leicester). (Maskell, vol. iii. p. lxxviii.)

² Roger of Wendover and Matthew

Paris, A.D. 1282 (in speaking of the vision of the release of Richard I. described by the Bishop of Rochester, in preaching at Sittingbourne). I owe the reference to Professor Vaughan.

entrails there, and the remainder elsewhere, the chances of assistance beyond the grave might be doubled or trebled.¹

The sepulchral character of Westminster Abbey thus became the frame on which its very structure depended. In its successive adornments and enlargements, the minds of its royal patrons sought their permanent expression, because they regarded it as enshrining the supreme act of their lives. The arrangements of an ancient temple were, as has been well remarked, from its sacrificial purpose, those of a vast slaughter-house; the arrangements of a Dominican church or modern Nonconformist chapel are those of a vast preaching-house; the arrangements of Westminster Abbey gradually became those of a vast tomb-house.

The first beginning of the Royal Burials at Westminster is uncertain. Sebert and Ethelgoda were believed to lie by the entrance of the Chapter House.² A faint tradition speaks of the interment of Harold Harefoot in Westminster.³ But his body was dug up by Hardicanute, decapitated, and afterwards cast into the adjacent marsh or into the Thames, and then buried by the Danes in their graveyard, where now stands the Church of St. Clement Danes. It was the grave of Edward the Confessor which eventually drew the other royal sepulchres around it.⁴ Such a result of the burial of a royal saint or hero has been almost universal. But though his charters enumerate the royal sepultures as amongst the privileges of Westminster, the custom grew but slowly. In the first instance, it may have indicated no more than his personal desire to be interred in the edifice whose building he had watched with so much anxious care; and his Norman successors were buried on the same principle, each in his own favourite sanctuary, unless some special cause intervened. The Conqueror was buried at Caen, in the abbey which he had dedicated to St. Stephen; William Rufus at Winchester,⁵ from

Sebert and
Ethelgoda.

Harold
Harefoot.

Edward the
Confessor.

William the
Conqueror
at Caen.

William
Rufus at
Winchester.

¹ *Arch.* xxix. 181.

² See Chapter I.

³ *Saxon Chron.* A.D. 1040; Widmore, p. 11.

⁴ So the grave of St. Columba at Iona, and the grave of St. Margaret at Dunfermline, became the centres of the sepultures of the Kings of Scotland: so the interment of William the Silent by the accidental scene of

his murder at Delft drew round it the great Protestant House of Orange; so round St. Louis at St. Denys gathered the Kings of France; so round St. Stanislaus at Cracow the Kings of Poland; so round Peter the Great at St. Petersburg the subsequent princes of the Romanoff dynasty.

⁵ *Ord. Vit.* (A.D. 1110), x. 14, by a confusion makes it Westminster.

his sudden death in the neighbouring forest; Henry I. at Reading, in the abbey founded out of his father's treasure for his father's soul; Stephen in his abbey at Faversham; Henry II.¹ in the great Angevin Abbey of Fontevrault (the foundation of Robert Arbrissel, by the 'fountain of 'the robber Evrard'). His eldest son Henry was buried at Rouen. In that same city, because it was so *hearty* and *cordial* to him,² was laid the 'large³ lion heart' of Richard; whilst his bowels, as his least honoured parts, lay among the Poitevins, whom he least honoured, at Chaluz, where he was killed. But his body rested at Fontevrault, at his father's feet, in token of sorrow for his unfilial conduct, to be, as it were, his father's footstool⁴—in the robes which he had worn at his second coronation at Winchester.⁵ John's wife, Isabella, was interred at Fontevrault,⁶ and his own heart was placed there in a golden cup; but he himself was laid at Worcester, for a singularly characteristic reason.

Henry I. at
Reading.
Stephen at
Faversham.
Henry II. at
Fontevrault.
Richard I.
at Fonte-
vrault.

John at
Worcester.

With that union of superstition and profaneness so common in the religious belief of the Middle Ages, he was anxious to elude after death the demons whom he had so faithfully served in life. For this purpose he not only gave orders to wrap his body in a monk's cowl, but to bury it between two saints. The royal cathedral of Worcester, which John had specially favoured in life, possessed two Saxon saints, in close juxtaposition; and between these two, Wulfstan and Oswald, the wicked King was laid.

But meanwhile an irresistible instinct had been drawing the Norman princes towards the race of their English subjects, and therefore towards the dust of the last Saxon King. Along with the annual commemoration of the victory of the Normans at Hastings, and of the Danes at Assenden, were

¹ Bishanger, p. 428; Hoveden, p. 654.

² Fuller's *Church History*, A.D. 1189.

³ Grossitudine præstans. See *Arch.* xxix. 210.

⁴ In a work published at Angers in 1866 (*L'Abbaye de Fontevrault, Notice Historique*, p. 76), by Lieut. Malifaud, it is stated that the bones of Richard I., gathered together by an inhabitant of Fontevrault, on the spoliation of the tombs in 1793, were given to England, 'et reposent aujourd'hui dans l'Abbaye de Westminster.' This is without

foundation. The heart, under an effigy of the King, was found in the choir of Rouen Cathedral on July 31, 1838, and is now in the Museum at Rouen. (*Archæologia*, xxix. 203.) The body of Prince Henry was found there in 1866.

⁵ *Anglia Sacra*, i. 304. See Chapter II.

⁶ For a full account of the fate of the monuments at Fontevrault down to the present time, see M. Malifaud's work, pp. 76, 77.

celebrated in the Abbey the anniversaries of Emma,¹ the Confessor's mother, and of Ethelred his father. Edith, his wife 'of venerable memory,' lay beside him. And now to join them came the 'good Queen Maud,' daughter of Malcolm Canmore and Margaret, and thus niece of Edgar and granddaughter of Edward Atheling, who had awakened in the heart of Henry I. a feeling towards her Anglo-Saxon kinsfolk such as no other of the Conqueror's family had known. The importance of the marriage is indicated by the mass of elaborate scruples that had to be set aside to accomplish it. She, a veiled nun, had become a wedded wife for this great object. It was supposed to be a fulfilment of the Confessor's last prophetic apologue, in which he described the return of the severed branch to the parent tree.² Henry's own sepulchral abbey at Reading was built by him chiefly to expiate his father's sins against the English.³ His royal chapel at Windsor bore the name of the Confessor, till it was dedicated by Edward III. to St. George.⁴ He and she received from the Normans the derisive epithets of 'Goodric' and 'Godiva.'⁵ Her own name was Edith,⁶ after her grand-aunt, the Confessor's wife. In deference to Norman prejudices she changed it to 'Matilda.' But she devoted herself with undisguised ardour to the Abbey where her kinsman Edward and her namesake Edith lay buried. Often she came there, in haircloth and barefooted, to pay her devotions.⁷ She increased its relics by the gift of a large part of the hair of Mary Magdalene.⁸ The honour of her sepulture was claimed by the old Anglo-Saxon sanctuary at Winchester,⁹ by the Abbey of Reading,¹⁰ and by the Cathedral of St. Paul's.¹¹ But there is no reason to doubt the tradition that she lies on the south side of the Confessor's Shrine,¹² and

¹ *Consuetudines* of Abbot Ware (pp. 566, 568, 582, 583, 587, 590). These celebrations may have been instituted only in the time of Henry III., but they are probably of earlier date. Edith is called 'Collaterana uxor.'

² See Chapters I. and II.

³ Rudborne, *Anglia Sacra*, i. 262.

⁴ *Annals of Windsor*, p. 27.

⁵ See William of Malmesbury, p. 156. Knyghton, c. 2375, says Henry's nickname was 'Godrych Godefadyr.'

⁶ *Ord. Vit.* A.D. 1118. Her brothers, in like manner, had almost all Saxon names—Edgar, Edward, Ethelred.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 712. See Chapter I.

⁸ Dart, i. 37; Fordun, *Scotichronicon*, pp. 480, 642.

⁹ Rudborne, p. 277.

¹⁰ Strickland's *Queens*, i. 187.

¹¹ Langtoft (Wright), i. 462.

¹² *Waverley Ann.*; *Ord. Vit.* A.D. 1118.—The statement is that she was first buried at the entrance of the Chapter House, and then removed by Henry III. to the side of the Confessor's Shrine. Fordun gives it as 'post magnum altare in oratorio.' It has sometimes been alleged, in confirmation of this, that at the north-west angle of the pavement, by Edward I.'s tomb, was read the word *Regina*, and

is thus the first royal personage so interred since the troubles of the Conquest.¹

Henry II. carried the veneration for Edward's remains a step farther. At the instigation of Becket, he procured from Pope Alexander II. the Bull of Canonisation, which Innocent II. had refused.² The Abbot Lawrence preached a sermon, enumerating the virtues and miracles of the Confessor. Osbert de Clare, the Prior, who had already made an unsuccessful expedition to Rome for the same object, under his predecessor Gervase, compiled the account out of which was ultimately composed the Life of the Confessor by Ailred, Abbot of Rievaulx, and brought back the Bull of Canonisation in triumph. At midnight on the 13th of October, 1163, Lawrence, in his new-born dignity of mitred Abbot, accompanied by Becket, opened the grave before the high altar, and saw—it was said, in complete preservation—the body of the dead King. Even the long, white, curling beard was still visible. The ring of St. John was taken out and deposited as a relic.³ The vestments (with less reverence than we should think permissible) were turned into three splendid copes. An Irishman and a clerk from Winchester were cured of some malady, supposed to be demoniacal possession. The whole ceremony ended with the confirmation of the celebrated Gilbert Folliott as Bishop of London.⁴

First translation of Edward the Confessor, Oct. 13, 1163.

The final step was taken by Henry III. It may be that the idea of making the Shrine of Edward the centre of the burial-place of his race did not occur to him till after he had already become interested in the building. His first work—what was called 'the new work'—was not the church itself, but an addition suggested by the general theological sentiment of the time. The beginning of the thirteenth century was remarkable for the immense development given, by the preaching of St.

that she was laid underneath the pavement on which his tomb was afterwards raised. But the inscription is (as I have ascertained by careful examination) a mere fragment of a slab removed from elsewhere, to make the covering of what is evidently the mere substructure of Edward I.'s tomb; and the words upon it are MINIS. REGINI—a portion of a broken inscription. But the statement of Abbot Ware (*Consecrations*, p. 566), that Matilda was on the south and Edith on the north side

of the Shrine is decisive both as to the fact and the position of the grave. See also Smith's *Westminster*, p. 155.

¹ The anniversary of her daughter, the Empress Maude, was celebrated in the Abbey. (Ware, p. 568.)

² See Akerman, i. 109.

³ *Gleanings*, p. 132.

⁴ Ridgway, p. 44.—He was translated from Hereford, the first instance of a canonical translation of an English bishop. (Le Neve's *Fasti*, ii. 232.)

Bernard, to the worship of the Virgin Mary.¹ In architecture it was exhibited by the simultaneous prolongation of almost every great cathedral into an eastern sanctuary, a new place of honour behind the altar, 'the Lady Chapel.' Such a chapel was dedicated at the eastern extremity of the Abbey by the young King Henry III., on Whitsun Eve,² the day before his coronation. The first offering laid upon its altar were the spurs worn by the King in that ceremony.³ Underneath was buried Abbot Barking, who probably claimed the merit of having been his adviser. His abbacy was long regarded in the convent as the passage from an old world to a new.⁴

Henry's long reign was a marked epoch, alike for England and for the Abbey. It was the first which can be called pacific,⁵ partly from his defects, partly from his virtues. He was the first English King—that is to say (like George III.) the first of his family born in England and no longer living in a continental dependency. This great boon of a race of Princes who could look on England as their home, had been conferred on our Kings and on our country by the losses of his father, John 'Lackland.'

Sterile and obscure as is that portion of our annals, it is there that we must seek for the origin of our freedom, our prosperity, and our glory. Then it was that the great English people was formed, that the national character began to exhibit those peculiarities which it has ever since retained, and that our fathers become emphatically islanders— islanders not merely in geographical position, but in their politics, their feelings, and their manners. Then first appeared with distinctness that Constitution which has ever since, through all changes, preserved its identity; that Constitution of which all the other free constitutions in the world are copies, and which, in spite of some defects, deserves to be regarded as the best under which any great society has ever yet existed during many ages. Then it was that the House of Commons, the archetype of all the representative assemblies which now meet, either in the Old or in the New World, held its first sittings. Then it was that the Common Law rose to the dignity of a science, and rapidly became a not unworthy rival of the imperial juris-

¹ Montalembert's *Histoire de Ste. Elisabeth*, p. 21.—The girdle of the Virgin deposited in the Abbey (see Chapter I.) was, like that at Mount Athos, used for averting the perils of childbirth, and was often employed

for that purpose by Queen Philippa. (Widmore, p. 65.)

² See Chap. II.

³ Pauli, i. 517.

⁴ See Chapter V.

⁵ This is well brought out in Rogers's *History of Prices*, i. 3.

prudence. Then it was that the courage of those sailors who manned the rude barks of the Cinque Ports first made the flag of England terrible on the seas. Then it was that the most ancient colleges which still exist at both the great national seats of learning were founded. Then was formed that language, less musical indeed than the languages of the South, but in force, in richness, in aptitude for all the highest purposes of the poet, the philosopher, and the orator, inferior to that of Greece alone. Then appeared the first faint dawn of that noble literature, the most splendid and the most durable of the many glories of England.¹

Then too arose, in its present or nearly in its present form, the building which was destined to combine all these together, the restored Abbey of Westminster—‘the most lovely and ‘loveable thing in Christendom.’² It sprang, in the first instance, out of the personal sentiment, uncon-^{English feelings of} Henry III. sciously fostered by these general influences, of the young King towards his Anglo-Saxon ancestors. Henry prided himself on his descent from Alfred, through the good Matilda. He determined to take up his abode in Westminster, beside the Confessor’s tomb. In the Abbey was solemnised his own marriage with Eleanor of Provence, as well as that of his³ brother Richard, Earl of Cornwall, with his second wife Sanda, sister of Eleanor,—and of⁴ his second son Edward, Earl of Lancaster, to Avelina, daughter of the Earl of Albemarle. His sons were the first of the English Princes who were called by Anglo-Saxon names. His first-born—the first Prince ever born at Westminster, and therefore called, after it, Edward of Westminster⁵—received his name from the Anglo-Saxon patron of Westminster; and was the first of that long series of ‘Edwards,’ which, though broken now and then by the necessities of intervening dynasties, is the one royal name that constantly reappears to assert its unchanging hold on the affections of the English people. His second son was in like manner named Edmund, after the other royal Anglo-Saxon saint, in whose abbey the King himself died, and to whom he had in life paid reverence only second to that due to St. Edward.

¹ Macaulay’s *History of England*, vol. i. p. 47.

² So called by one well qualified to judge, Mr. Street (*Essay on the Influence of Foreign Art on English Architecture in the Church and the World*, p. 402).

³ Nov. 22 or 23, 1243, Rot. Parl. 28, Hen. III.

⁴ April 9, 1269, Harl. MS. 530, fol. 60.

⁵ He was sometimes called Edward III., reckoning Edward the Elder and Edward the Confessor as the first and second. (*Opus Chronicorum*, p. 37.)

The concentration of this English Edwardian passion upon the Abbey of Westminster was encouraged by many converging circumstances in the reign of Henry III. It is possible that, as the visit of the Saxon ambassadors to Reims may have led to the first idea of a Royal Abbey in the mind of the Confessor, so the rebuilding and re-embellishment of the Abbey of St. Denys by Louis IX. suggested the idea of a place of royal sepulture to the mind of Henry III.¹ Before that time the Kings of France, like the Kings of England, had been buried in their own private vaults; thenceforth they were buried round the tomb of Dagobert.

His imi-
tation of
St. Denys.

Again the erection of a new and splendid Church was the natural product of Henry's passionate devotion to sacred observances, strong out of all proportion to the natural feebleness of his character. Even St. Louis seemed to him but a lukewarm Rationalist. He kept the French peers in Paris so long waiting, by stopping to hear mass at every church he passed, that Louis caused all the churches on the road to be shut. When in France, he lived not in the royal palace, but in a monastery. On Henry's declaring that he could not stay in a place which was under an interdict, the French King complained, and added, 'You ought to hear sermons, as well as attend mass.'² 'I had rather see my friend than hear him talked about,'³ was the reply of the enthusiastic Henry. He would not be content with less than three⁴ masses a day, and held fast to the priest's hand during the service.⁵

His devo-
tion.

With this English and devotional sentiment the King combined a passionate addiction to art in all its forms, which carried him far beyond the limits of his own country. His visits to France recalled to him the glories of Amiens, Beauvais, and Reims.⁶ His marriage with Eleanor⁷ of Provence opened the door for the influx of foreign princes, ecclesiastics, and artists into London. The Savoy Palace was their centre.

His addi-
tion to
foreign art.

¹ This rivalry with St. Denys appears in his anxiety to outdo it by the relic of the Holy Blood. (Matthew Paris, p. 735.)

² Rishanger, *Chronica*, p. 75; Trivet, p. 280. (Pauli, l. 842.)

³ Rishanger and Trivet, *ibid.*—The author of the *Opus Chronicorum* (p. 36) gives this as Henry's reply to a preaching friar, who was angry at the King's delay in coming to his sermon.

⁴ Four or five. (*Opus Chronicorum*, p. 35.)

⁵ Rishanger, *Chronica*, p. 75.

⁶ *Gleanings*, 20.

⁷ The arms of her father, the Earl of Provence, are sculptured in the south aisle of the Nave, and were painted in the windows of the Chapter-house and elsewhere. (Sandford, 95.)

Of this union of religious feeling with foreign and artistic tendencies, the whole Abbey, as rebuilt by Henry, is a monument. He determined that his new Church was to be incomparable for beauty, even in that great age of art.¹ Its Chapter House, its ornaments, down to the lecterns, were to be superlative of their kind. On it foreign painters and sculptors were invited to spend their utmost skill. 'Peter the Roman citizen' was set to work on the Shrine, where his name can still be read. The mosaics were from Rome, brought by the Abbot, who now by his newly-won exemption from the jurisdiction of the see of London had been forced to make his journey to the imperial city for the sake of obtaining the Papal confirmation.² The pavement thus formed and the twisted columns which stand round the Shrine, exactly resemble the like ornaments of the same date, in the Basilicas of St. John Lateran, St. Paul, St. Laurence, and St. Clement at Rome. Mosaics and enamel were combined throughout in a union found nowhere else in England. Many of the details of the tombs of Henry III. and Edward the Confessor are strictly classical. The architectural style of this portion of the building is French rather than English. The radiation of the polygonal chapels round the Choir and the bar tracery of the windows are especially French.³ The arrangement to which the King was driven, perhaps, from the necessity of providing space for the new Shrine, is Spanish.⁴ Eleanor of Castille, his daughter-in-law, must have recognised in the Choir, brought far into the Nave, the likeness of the 'Coro' in the cathedrals of her native country.

In the prosecution of his work another less pleasing feature of the King's character was brought into play. He was a Prince of almost proverbial extravagance. His motto was, 'Qui non dat quod habet, non accipit ille quod optat.'⁵ Recklessly did he act on this principle always, and never more so than in erecting the Abbey. Unlike most cathedrals, it was built entirely at the cost of the Crown. The Royal Abbey, as in the Confessor's time so in Henry's, is

¹ Wykes, p. 84. See Chapter V.
² 'Mira pulchritudinis' is the phrase used of it in a document in the Archives of St. Paul's.

³ See Chapter V.; *Gleanings of Westminster Abbey*, p. 60; and Ferguson's *Handbook*, ii. 18.

⁴ See *Gleanings*, pp. 19-24; and Mr.

Street, *On the Influence of Foreign Art in England*, p. 402.

⁵ Street's *Gothic Architecture in Spain*, p. 418.

⁶ Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting* (Wornum), p. 20; Hardy, Preface to the *Liberate Rolls of King John*, xii. note (1).

absolutely a royal gift. The sums, in our money amounting to half-a-million, were snatched here and there, from high quarters or from low, with desperate avidity. There was a special office for the receipts. The widow of a Jew furnished £2590;¹ the vacancy of the Abbot's seat at Westminster 100 marks. A fair was established in Tothill Fields, with a monopoly for this sole purpose. The King himself took out of other abbeys what he had spent on Westminster, by living on them to ease the expenses of his own maintenance,² and again took from the Abbey itself the jewels which he had given to it, and pawned them for his own necessities. The enormous exactions have left their lasting traces on the English Constitution, in no less a monument than the House of Commons, which rose into existence as a protest against the King's lavish expenditure on the mighty Abbey which it confronts.³

The rise of the whole institution thus forms a new epoch at once in English history and English architecture. With the usual disregard which each generation, in the Middle Ages far more than in our own, entertains towards the taste of those who have gone before, the massive venerable pile, consecrated by the recollections of the Confessor and the Conqueror, was torn down, as of no worth at all, 'nullius omnino valoris.'⁴

Demolition of the Old Church, 1246.
 Ecclesiam stravit istam qui tunc renovavit,
 was the inscription once written on Henry's tomb, which described this mediæval vandalism. He rebuilt exactly as far as the Confessor had built. A fragment of the nave alone was left standing. But the central tower, the choir, the transepts, the cloisters, all disappeared;⁵ and in their place arose a building, which the first founder would as little have recognised, as the Norman style would have been recognised by Sebert, or the style of Wren by the Plantagenets.

The New Church.
 It was a 'new minster,'⁶ of which St. Edward became the patron saint, almost to the exclusion of St. Peter.⁷ For him the Shrine was prepared, as the centre of all this magnificence. It was erected, like all the shrines of great local saints, at the east of the altar, by a new and strange

¹ Akerman, i. 241.

² Fuller, book iii.; *Arch.* xiii. 36, 37.

³ See Chapter V.

⁴ Wykes, p. 89.

⁵ Matthew Paris, p. 661. The end

of Henry III.'s work can be traced immediately at the west of the crossing. *Gleanings*, 31.

⁶ Capgrave, p. 89.

⁷ Redman's *Henry V.*, p. 69; Smith's *Westminster*, p. 60.

arrangement, as peculiar to the thirteenth century as the numerous theological doctrines which then first assumed consistency and shape. But, in order to leave standing the Lady Chapel, which the King had already built in his youth, the high altar was moved westward to its present central position. A mound of earth, the last funeral 'tumulus' in England, was erected between this and the Lady Chapel, and on its summit was raised the tomb in which the body of the Confessor was to be laid.¹ On each side, standing on the two twisted pillars which now support the western end of the Shrine, were statues of the Confessor and St. John as the mysterious pilgrim. Round the Choir was hung arras, representing on one side the thief and Hengolin, on the other the royal coronations.² The top of the Shrine was doubtless adorned with a splendid tabernacle, instead of the present woodwork. The lower part was rich with gilding and colours. The inscription, now detected only at intervals, ran completely round it, ascribing the workmanship to Peter of Rome, and celebrating the Confessor's virtues. The arches underneath were ready for the patients, who came to ensconce themselves there for the sake of receiving from the sacred corpse within the deliverance from the 'King's Evil,' which the living sovereign was believed³ to communicate by his touch. An altar stood at its western end, of which all trace has disappeared, but for which a substitute has ever since existed, at the time of the Coronations, in a wooden movable table.⁴ At the eastern end of the Shrine two steps still remain, deeply hollowed out by the knees of the successive pairs of pilgrims who knelt at that spot.⁵

That corpse was now to be 'translated' from the coffin in which Henry II. had laid it, with a pomp which was probably suggested to the King by the recollection of the grandest ceremony of the kind that England had ever seen, at which he in his early boyhood had assisted—

The second translation, Oct. 13, 1269.

¹ Originally the Shrine was probably visible all down the church. Not till the time of Henry VI. was raised the screen which now conceals it. On the summit of the screen stood a vast crucifix, with the usual accompanying figures, and those of the two Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul. See *Gleanings*, plates xx. and xxvii.

² Till 1644. Weever, p. 45.

³ This was the one remark made on the Shrine by Addison—'We were

'then shown Edward the Confessor's tomb, upon which Sir Roger acquainted us that he was the first who touched for the Evil.' (*Spectator*, 321.)

⁴ Dart, i. 54.

⁵ A fragment of the Shrine, found in repairing the walls of Westminster school in 1868, was replaced in its original position, after a separation of three centuries.

the translation of the remains of St. Thomas of Canterbury.¹ It was on the same day of the month that had witnessed the former removal on the occasion of Edward's canonisation. The King had lived to see the completion of the whole Choir and east end of the church. He was growing old. His family were all gathered round him, as round a Christmas hearth,² for the last time together—Richard his brother, Edward and Edmund, his two sons, Edward with Eleanor just starting for Palestine: 'As near a way to heaven,' she said, 'from Syria 'as from England or Spain.' They supported the coffin of the Confessor,³ and laid him in the spot where (with the exception of one short interval) he has remained ever since. The day was commemorated by its selection as the usual time when the King held his Courts and Parliaments.

Behind the Shrine, where now stands the Chantry of Henry V., were deposited the sacred relics, presented to the King twenty years before by his favourite Order the Templars. Amongst them may be noticed the tooth Relics, 1247. of St. Athanasius, the stone which was believed to show the footprint of the ascending Saviour,⁴ and (most highly prized of all) a phial containing some drops of the Holy Blood. This was carried in state by the King himself from St. Paul's to the Abbey; and it was on the occasion of its presentation, and of Prince Edward's knighthood, that Matthew Paris, the monk of St. Albans, was present (much as a modern photographer or artist attends a state ceremony at royal command), to give an exact account of what he saw, and to be rewarded afterwards by a dinner in the newly-finished refectory.⁵

With the Templars, who gave these precious offerings, it had been the King's original intention to have been buried in the Temple Church. But his interest in the Abbey grew during the fifty years that he had seen it in progress, and his determination became fixed that it should be the sepulchre of himself and of the whole Plantagenet race. The short, stout, ungainly old man, with the blinking left eye,⁶ and the curious craft with which he wound himself out of the many difficulties of his long and troublesome reign, such as made his contem-

¹ *Memorials of Canterbury*, p. 193.

² Ridgway, p. 82.

³ Wykes, p. 88; Ridgway, p. 63.

⁴ M. Paris, p. 768; Widmore, p. 64.
One of these footprints is still shown in the Mosque or Church of the As-

cension on Mount Olivet; another is in the Mosque of Omar.

⁵ M. Paris, pp. 735-9.

⁶ Rishanger, *Chronica*, p. 75; Trivet, p. 281.

poraries regard him on both accounts as the lynx foretold by Merlin,¹ was at last drawing to his end. 'Quiet King Henry III., our English Nestor (not for depth of brains but for length of life), who reigned fifty-six years, in which time he buried all his contemporary princes in Christendom twice over. All the months in the year may be in a manner carved out of an April day: hot, cold, dry, moist, fair, foul weather —just the character of this King's life—certain only in uncertainty; sorrowful, successful, in plenty, in penury, in wealth, in want, conquered, conqueror.'²

Domestic calamities crowded upon him: the absence of his son Edward, the murder of his nephew Henry at Viterbo, the death of his brother Richard. He died at the Abbey of St. Edmund at Bury, on the festival of the recently canonised St. Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury (Nov. 16), and was buried on the festival of St. Edmund the Anglo-Saxon martyr (Nov. 20), in the Abbey of Westminster, the Templars acknowledging their former connection by supplying the funeral.³ The body was laid, not where it now rests, but in the coffin, before the high altar, vacated by the removal of the Confessor's bones, and still, as Henry might suppose, sanctified by their odour.⁴ As the corpse sank into the grave, the Earl of Gloucester, in obedience to the King's dying commands, put his bare hand upon it, and swore fealty to the heir-apparent, absent in Palestine. Edward, in his homeward journey, was not unmindful of his father's tomb. He had heard of the death of his son Henry,⁵ but his grief for him was swallowed up in his grief for Henry his father. 'God may give me more sons, but not another father.'⁶ From the East, or from France, he brought the precious marbles, the slabs of porphyry, with which, ten years afterwards, the tomb was built up, as we now see it, on the north side of the Confessor's Shrine; and an Italian artist, Torel,⁷ carved the effigy which lies upon it.⁸ Yet ten more years passed, and into the finished tomb was removed the body of the King. Henry had in his earlier years, when at his ancestral burial-place in Anjou, promised that his heart should be

Death of
Henry III.
Nov. 16.
buried Nov.
20, 1272.

Building of
his Tomb,
1281.

His Re-
interment.

¹ Rishanger, *Chronica*, p. 75.

² Fuller's *Church History*, A.D. 1276.

³ Dart, ii. 34.

⁴ Wykes, p. 98.

⁵ He was buried in the Abbey by

the Archbishop of Canterbury. (See Chapter V.)

⁶ Widmore, p. 76.

⁷ *Gleanings*, p. 150; *Arch.* xxix. 191.

⁸ See Westmacott in *Old London*,

p. 187

deposited with the ashes of his kindred in the Abbey of Fontevrault. The Abbess,¹ one of the grandest of her rank in France, usually of the blood-royal, with the singular privilege of ruling both a monastery of men and a nunnery of women, was in England at the time of the removal of Henry's body to the new tomb, and claimed the promise. Delivery of his Heart to the Abbess of Fontevrault, 1291. It was on this occasion that, under warrant from the King, in the presence of his brother Edmund, and the two prelates specially connected with the Westminster coronations, the Bishops of Durham and of Bath and Wells, the heart was delivered in the Abbey into her hands—the last relic of the lingering Plantagenet affection for their foreign home.²

Such was the beginning of the line of royal sepultures in the Abbey; and so completely was the whole work identified with Henry III., that when, in the reigns of Richard II. and Henry V., the Nave was completed, the earlier style—contrary to the almost universal custom of the mediæval builders—was continued, as if by a process of antiquarian restoration; and this tribute to Henry's memory is visible even in the armorial bearings of the benefactors of the Abbey. To mark the date, and to connect it with the European history of the time, the Eagle of Frederick II., the heretical Emperor of Germany, the Lilies of Louis IX., the sainted King of France, the Lion of Alexander III., the doomed King of Scotland,³ had been fixed on the walls of the Choir, where they may still in part be seen. There, too, remains the only contemporary memorial which England possesses of Simon de Montfort, founder of the House of Commons.⁴ It was these and the like shields of nobles, coeval with the building of Henry III.,⁵ not those of the later ages, that were still continued on the walls of the Nave when it was completed in the following centuries.

It would seem that, with the same domestic turn which appears in Louis Philippe's arrangement of the Orleans

¹ See the description of the convent in the *Memoirs of Mlle. de Montpensier*, i. 49-52. The Abbess in her time was called 'Madame de Fontevrault,' and was a natural daughter of Louis XIII.

² Dugdale's *Monasticon*, i. 312.

³ This disappeared in 1829.

⁴ Gules—a lion rampant—double-tailed—argent, in N. isle.

⁵ Sir Gilbert Scott has pointed this

out to me, particularly in the case of Valence Earl of Pembroke, and Ferrers Earl of Derby. Even the details of Henry III.'s architecture, though modified in the Nave, were continued in the Cloisters. The shield of the Confessor is the earliest of the kind, the martlets not having yet lost their legs. See the account of a MS. description of these shields in 1598, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, Jan. 25, 1866.

cemetery at Dreux, Henry at Westminster had provided for the burial of his whole family in all his branches round him.¹

1257, Princess Catherine, and other children of Henry III. Twelve years before his own interment he had already laid, in a small richly-carved tomb by the entrance of St. Edmund's Chapel, his dumb and very beautiful little daughter, of five years old, Catherine.² Mass was said daily for her in the Hermitage of Charing. Beside her were interred his two other children who died young, and whose figures were painted above her tomb—Richard and John.³

The heart of Prince Henry, 1271. The heart of Henry, son of his brother Richard, who was killed in the cathedral at Viterbo by the sons of Simon de Montfort, was brought home and placed in a gold cup, by the Shrine of the Confessor. The widespread horror of the murder had procured, through this incident, the one single notice of the Abbey in the 'Divina Commedia' of Dante:

Lo cor che'n sul Tamigi ancor si cola.⁴

The king's half-brother, William de Valence, lies close by, within the Chapel of St. Edmund, dedicated to the second great Anglo-Saxon saint. This chapel seems to have been regarded as of the next degree of sanctity to the Royal Chapel of St. Edward. William was the son of Isabel, widow of John, by her second marriage with the Earl of Marche and Poitiers, and the favour shown to him and his wild Poitevin kinsman by his brother was one cause of the King's embroilment with the English Barons.⁵ His whole tomb is French; its enamels from Limoges; his birthplace Valence on the Rhône, represented on his coat-of-arms. His son⁶ Aymer—so called from the father of Isabel Aymer, Count of Angoulême—built the tomb; and also secured for himself a still more splendid resting-place on the north side of the sacrarium,

¹ *Gleanings*, p. 146; *Arch.* xxix. 188; *Annals*, A.D. 1283.

² *Matt. Paris*, p. 949. In the Liberate Roll, 41 Hen. III., is a payment for her funeral on May 16. It was made by a mason in Dorsetshire, Master Simeon de Well, probably Weal, near Corfe Castle, who also furnished the Purbeck marble for the tomb of John, eldest son of Edward I. (*Pipe Rolls*, Dorset, 41, H. iii.) I owe this to Mr. Bond of Tyneham.

³ The arch is said to have been constructed by Edward I., as a memorial to his four young children—John, Henry,

Alfonso [and Eleanor?]. (See Crull, p. 28.)

⁴ Dante's *Inferno*, xii. 115; *Gleanings*, p. 138.—Benvenuto of Imola, commenting on this line, says: 'In quodam monasterio monachorum vocato ibi *Guamister*.' (Robertson's *History of the Church*, iii. 463.)

⁵ *Gleanings*, pp. 155-157; Crull, p. 155. The tomb has been much injured since 1685. (*Gleanings*, p. 62.)

⁶ His two other children, John and Margaret, occupy the richly-enamelled spaces at the foot of the Shrine. (Crull, p. 156.) The name of their father is still visible upon the grave.

making one range of sepulchral monuments,¹ with his cousins Edmund and Aveline. Aveline, the greatest heiress in the kingdom, daughter of the Earl of Albemarle, had been married to Edmund, in the Abbey, in 1269, shortly after the translation of the relics of the Confessor. She died two years after her father-in-law the King; and was followed to the same illustrious grave by her husband, twenty-three years later.² He was the second son of Henry. It is possible that his epithet *Crouchback*, if not derived from his humped back, was a corruption of Crossback or Crusader. Whether it be so or not, he remains the chief monument of the Crusading period.³ He and his brother Edward started together before their father's death, and the ten knights painted on the north side of his tomb have been supposed to represent the gallant English band who engaged in that last struggle to recover the Holy Land. If in this respect he represents the close of the first period of the Middle Ages, in two other respects he contains the germs of much of the future history of England. First Earl of Lancaster, he was the founder of that splendid house. Henry IV., with that curious tenacity of hereditary right which distinguished his usurpation, tried to maintain that Edmund was really the eldest son of his father, excluded from the throne only by his deformity.⁴ From Provins—where he resided on his return from the Holy Land, with his second wife, Blanche of Navarre, and which he converted almost into an English town—he brought back those famous Red roses, wrongly named 'of Provence,' planted there by the Crusaders, from Palestine, which may be seen carved on his tomb, and which became in after-days the badge of the Lancastrian dynasty. His extravagance, with that of his father, combined to produce that reaction in the English people which led to the foundation of the House of Commons. And the length of time which elapsed before his tomb was completed, arose from his own dying anxiety not to be buried till all his debts were paid. He died in the same year as his half-uncle William, but the tomb was evidently not erected till late in the reign of Edward II.

These are but the eddies of the royal history. The main

¹ See *Old London*, p. 194.

² Her tomb originally was raised upon the present basement. (See Dart, ii. 7, 10.)

³ These tombs are architecturally connected with those of Archbishop Peckham at Canterbury, and Bishop De Luda at Ely. (*Gleanings*, p. 62.)

⁴ Harding (Turner, ii. 273).

Aveline,
Countess of
Lancaster,
1273.
Edmund,
Earl of
Lancaster,
1296.

stream flows through the Confessor's Chapel. Prince Edward and Eleanor have returned from the Crusades. Eleanor is the first to depart. The remembrance of their crusading kinsman, St. Louis, never leaves them; and when Eleanor died at Hardby, the crosses which were erected at all the halting-places of his remains, from Mont Cenis to St. Denys, seem to have furnished the model of the twelve memorial crosses which marked the passage of the 'Queen of good memory,' from Lincoln to Charing—'Mulier pia, modesta, misericors, Anglicorum omnium amatrix.'¹ Her entrails were left at Lincoln; her heart was deposited in the Blackfriars' monastery in London; but her body was placed in the Abbey, at the foot of her father-in-law, just before the removal of his own corpse into his new tomb. A hundred wax-lights were for ever to burn around her grave on St. Andrew's Eve, the anniversary of her death; and each Abbot of Westminster was bound by oath to keep up this service, before he entered on his office, and the charter requiring it was read aloud in the Chapter House. The Bishop of Lincoln buried her: a mortal feud between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Abbot of Westminster kept them from meeting at the funeral.²

Eighteen years passed away. Edward had married a second time. He had erected splendid tombs, of which we have previously spoken, to his father, his wife, and his uncle. He had continued the Abbey for five bays westward into the Nave.³ The Chapel of the Confessor, where he had kept his vigil before his knighthood, he had filled with trophies of war, most alien to the pacific reign of his father—the Stone of Fate from Scotland, and a fragment of the Cross from some remote sanctuary of Wales.⁴ His little son Alfonso, called after his grandfather, Alfonso of Castille, hung up with his own hands before the shrine the golden crown of Llewellyn, the last Welsh Prince, slain amongst the broom at Builth; and was himself, almost immediately afterwards, buried between his brothers and sisters in the Abbey, whilst his heart lies with his mother's in the Blackfriars' convent.⁵

And now Edward himself is brought from the wild village

¹ See *Memorials of Queen Eleanor*; and *Arch.* xxix. 170-4, 181.

² *Memorials of Queen Eleanor*, pp. 175, 179; *Old London*, p. 187.

³ *Gleanings*, p. 32.

⁴ See Chapters II. and V.

⁵ Matthew of Westminster, A.D. 1284; *Gleanings*, p. 151.

of Burgh, on the Solway sands. For sixteen weeks he lay in Waltham Abbey by the grave of Harold; and then, almost four months after his death, was buried by Anthony Beck, Bishop of Durham, between his brother's and his father's tomb.¹ The monument was not always so rude as it now appears. There are still remains of gilding on its black² Purbeck sides. A massive canopy of wood overshadowed it, which remained till it disappeared in a scene of uproar, which might have startled the sleeping King below into the belief that the Scots had invaded the sanctity of the Abbey, when, on the occasion of a midnight funeral, the terrified spectators defended themselves with its rafters against the mob.³

But, even in its earliest days, the plain tomb of the greatest of the Plantagenets, without mosaic, carving, or effigy, amongst the splendid monuments of his kindred, cries for explanation. Two reasons are given. The first connects it with the inscription, which runs along its side:—‘Edvardus Primus ‘Scotorum malleus hic est, 1308. Pactum Serva.’⁴ Is the unfinished tomb a fulfilment of that famous ‘pact,’ which the dying King required of his son, that his flesh should be boiled, his bones carried at the head of the English army till Scotland was subdued, and his heart sent to the Holy Land,⁵ which he had vainly tried in his youth to redeem from the

Death of
Edward I.,
Friday, July
7, 1307.
Buried
Oct. 27.

His tomb.

Inscription
‘Pactum
Serva.’

¹ Bishanger, *Gesta Edwardi Primi*, A.D. 1307. (Pauli, ii. 178.)

² That it is of Purbeck marble, and that its base, as well as that of Henry III.'s tomb, is of Caen stone, I am assured by Professor Ramsay. This disposes of a tradition that the stones of Edward I.'s tomb were brought from Jerusalem.

³ See Chapter IV.

⁴ Lord Hailes (*Scotland*, i. 27) evidently supposes this to allude to the dying compact. But there can be no doubt that the inscription is of far later date; and the motto ‘*Pactum serva*’ is, in all probability, a mere moral maxim, ‘*Keep your promise*.’ For—1. The inscription is of the same character as that which runs round the Shrine of the Confessor, which has obliterated the larger part of the older inscription; 2. That inscription is evidently of the time of Abbot Feckenham (see Chapter VI.); 3. The like inscription on Henry V.'s tomb is also of a

later date, as appears from the allusion to Queen Catherine's coffin (see p. 134); 4. All these royal inscriptions are exactly similar in style, consisting of a Latin hexameter, a date (in the case of Henry III. and Edward I. a wrong date), and a moral maxim. Four inscriptions still remain, in whole or in part—that of Edward I., Henry III., Henry V., and the Confessor. (See also Neale, ii. 69–109.) That of Edward I. has attracted more attention, both from its intrinsic interest and from its more conspicuous position.

⁵ Walsingham, A.D. 1307.—Two thousand pounds in silver were laid up, and 140 knights named for the expedition. How deeply this expedition was impressed on popular feeling appears from the allusion in the Elegy in Percy's *Reliques* (ii. 9), with the Pope's lament—
‘Jerusalem, thou last y-lone [lost],
The flower of all chivalry,
Now King Edward liveth no more.
Alas, that he should die!’

Saracens? It is true that with the death of the King the charms of the conquest of Scotland ceased. But it may possibly have been 'to keep the pact' that the tomb was left in this rude state, which would enable his successors at any moment to take out the corpse and carry off the heart. It may also have been with a view to this that a singular provision was left and enforced. Once every two years the tomb was to be opened, and the wax of the King's cerecloth renewed. This renewal constantly took place as long as his dynasty lasted, perhaps with a lingering hope that the time would come when a victorious English army would once more sweep through Scotland with the conqueror's skeleton, or another crusade embark for Palestine with that true English heart. The hour never came, and when the dynasty changed with the fall of Richard II., the renewal of the cerement ceased. From that time the tomb remained unfinished, but undisturbed, till, in the middle of the last century, it was opened in the presence of the Society of Antiquaries,¹ and the King was found in his royal robes, wrapped in a large waxed linen cloth. Then for the last time was seen that figure, lean and tall, and erect as a palm-tree,² whether running or riding. But the long shanks, which gave him his surname, were concealed in the cloth of gold; the eyes, with the cast which he had inherited from his father, were no longer visible; nor the hair, which had been yellow³ or silver-bright in childhood, black in youth, and snow-white in age, on his high broad forehead. Pitch was poured in upon the corpse, and as Walpole comically laments in deploring the final disappearance of the crown, robes, and sceptre, 'They boast now of having enclosed him so effectually, 'that his ashes cannot be violated again.'⁴

There is yet another explanation, to which, even under any circumstances, we must in part resort, and which carries us on to the next reign. 'As *Malleus Scotorum*, "the wastefulness of Edward II. " "hammer or crusher of the Scots," is written on the 'tomb of King Edward I. in Westminster, so *Incus Scotorum*, "the anvil of the Scots," might as properly be written on the 'monument (if he had any) of Edward II.'⁵ His monument is at Gloucester, as William Rufus's at Winchester, the nearest

¹ *Arch.* iii. 376, 398, 399; Neale, ii. 172; D'Israeli's *Curiosities of Literature*, iii. 81.—The corpse was six feet two inches long.

² *Chron. Roff.* (Pauli, ii. 178.)

³ Rishanger, p. 76.

⁴ Walpole's *Letters*, iv. 197.

⁵ Fuller's *Church Hist.* A.D. 1314.

church to the scene of his dreadful death. But he is not without his memorial in the Abbey. That unfinished condition of the tomb of his father is the continued witness of the wastefulness of the unworthy son, who spent on himself the money which his father had left for the carrying on of his great designs,¹ if not for the completion of his monument.²

But his son, John, surnamed, from his birth in that fine old palace of Eltham, who died at Perth at the early age of 19, was expressly ordered to be removed from the spot where he was first interred, to a more suitable place 'entre les royaux,'³ yet 'so as to leave room for the King and his successors.' The injunction was either disregarded, or was thought to be adequately fulfilled by his interment in the quasi-royal Chapel of St. Edmund, under a tomb which lost its beautiful canopy⁴ in the general crash of the Chapel at the time of the Duchess of Northumberland's funeral in the last century.

The whole period of the two Edwards is well summed up in the tomb of Aymer de Valence, cousin of Edward I., planted, as we have seen, in the conspicuous spot between Edmund and Aveline of Lancaster,—the tall pale man, nicknamed by Gaveston 'Joseph the Jew,'⁵—the ruthless destroyer of Nigel Bruce, of Piers Gaveston, and of Thomas of Lancaster. If the Scots could never forgive him for the death of Nigel, neither could the English for the death of the almost canonised Earl of Lancaster. 'No Earl of Pembroke,' it was believed, 'ever saw his father afterwards:' and Aymer's mysterious death in France was regarded as a judgment for 'consenting to the death of St. Thomas.'⁶ Pembroke College at Cambridge was founded by his widow, to commemorate the terrible bereavement which, according to tradition, befell her on her wedding-day.

The northern side of the Royal Chapel and its area—a

¹ Walsingham, A.D. 1307.

² In 1866, a slight memorial of some festival in Edward II.'s reign was found in fragments of paper-hangings, bearing his arms, affixed to the pillars near the altar.

³ Archives. The Prior and Convent received £100 fine in lieu of the horses and armour. (Sandford, 155.)

⁴ For the canopy, see Chapter IV.; Crull, p. 46; Nichols's *Anecdotes* (1760

and 1777), iii. 745; Malcolm's *Lond.*, p. 253.

⁵ Capgrave, p. 252.

⁶ Leland; Neale, ii. 273.—For the narrow escape of Aymer's tomb from destruction in the last century, see Chapter IV. Masses were said for his soul in the Chapel of St. John, close behind his tomb. (Lyson's *Environ.*, p. 349.)

His tomb at
Gloucester,
1327.

Tomb of
John of
Eltham,
1334.

Aymer de
Valence,
Earl of
Pembroke,
1323.

position peculiarly honourable in connection with the mediæval position of the priest at the Eucharist—was now filled. The southern side carried on and completed the direct line of the House of Anjou. In the tomb of Philippa a more historical spirit is beginning to supersede the ideal representations of early times. Her face is the earliest attempt at a portrait;¹ and the surrounding figures are not merely religious emblems, but the thirty princely personages with whom, by birth, the Princess of Hainault was connected,² as the tomb is probably by an Hainault artist. But ‘she built to herself,’ says Speed, ‘a monument of more glory and durability by founding a college, called of her the Queen’s, in Oxford.’³ On her deathbed she said to the King, ‘I ask that you will not choose any other sepulchre than mine, and that you lie by my side in the Abbey of Westminster.’⁴

Queen
Philippa,
1369.

‘King Edward’s fortunes seemed to fall into eclipse when she was hidden in her sepulchre.’ His features are said to be represented, from a cast taken after death, as he lay on his deserted deathbed:⁵—

Death of
Edward III.,
June 21,
1377.

Mighty victor, mighty lord,
Low on his funeral couch he lies!⁶

His long flowing hair and beard agree with the contemporary accounts. The godlike grace which shone in his countenance⁷ is perhaps hardly perceptible, but it yet bears a curious resemblance to an illustrious living poet who is said to be descended from him.

His tomb.

His twelve children⁸—including those famous ‘seven sons,’ the springheads of all the troubles of the next hundred years—were graven round his tomb, of which now only remain the Black Prince, Joan de la Tour, Lionel Duke of Clarence, Edmund Duke of York, Mary Duchess of Brittany, and William of Hatfield. Two infant children, William of Windsor and Blanche de la Tour (so called from her birth in the Tower), have their small tomb in St. Edmund’s Chapel.⁹

His
children.

¹ *Gleanings*, p. 170.

² Neale, ii. 98; *Gleanings*, p. 64.

³ Speed, p. 724.

⁴ Froissart.

⁵ *Gleanings*, p. 173.

⁶ In an account of these two tombs by a Flemish antiquary, Edward III.’s

tomb is said to be empty, the King being buried in Queen Philippa’s. But this is very doubtful.

⁷ Pauli, ii. 500; *Gleanings*, 173.

⁸ Stow (p. 24) saw them all, as well as those on Queen Philippa’s tomb.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 173; Neale, ii. 301.

The monument of Edward III.¹ is the first that has entered into our literature :—

The honourable tomb
That stands upon your royal grandsire's bones.²

The sword³ and shield that went before him in France formed part of the wonders of the Abbey as far back as the time of Queen Elizabeth.⁴ Dryden describes—

His sword
and shield.

How some strong churl would brandishing advance
The monumental sword that conquer'd France.

Sir Roger de Coverley 'laid his hand on Edward III.'s sword, 'and, leaning on the pommel of it, gave us the whole history 'of the Black Prince, concluding that, in Sir Richard Baker's 'opinion, Edward III. was one of the greatest princes that ever 'sate on the English throne.' Other valued trophies of the French wars were the vestments of St. Peter, patron of the Abbey; and the head of St. Benedict, patron of its Order, which was supposed to have been brought from Monte Casino to France.⁵

Relics from
France.

The circle of the Confessor's Chapel was now all but filled. The only space left was occupied by a small tomb (now removed to the Chapel of St. John the Baptist) of the grandchildren of Edward I.—Hugh and Mary de Bohun, children of his daughter Elizabeth by Humphrey de Bohun. It may be from the absence of any further open space by the side of the Royal Saint, that Edward the Black Prince had already fixed his tomb under the shelter of the great ecclesiastical martyr of Canterbury Cathedral.⁶ But his son Richard was not so disposed to leave the Abbey. His affection for it seems to have equalled that of any of his predecessors. In it his coronation had been celebrated with unusual formality and splendour.⁷ In it his marriage, like that of Henry III., had been solemnised.⁸ Here he had consulted the Hermit on his way to confront the rebels.⁹ The great northern entrance,

Tombs of
the Bohun
children.

Edward
the Black
Prince
buried at
Canterbury
1376.

Richard II.
His affection
for the
Abbey.

His mar-
riage, Jan.
22, 1382.

¹ Feckenham's inscription on the tomb is the same as that under Edward III.'s statue at Trinity College, Cambridge.

² Shakspeare's *Richard II.*

³ A similar sword is in the Chapter House at Windsor.

⁴ Rye's *England* (1592), pp. 10, 92. There was then a wolf upon it.

⁵ Walsingham, pp. 171, 178.

⁶ *Memorials of Canterbury*, c. 3.

⁷ See Chapter II.

⁸ Walsingham, ii. 48; Sandford, 230; Neale, ii. 114.

⁹ See Chapter V.

known as Solomon's Porch, was rebuilt in his time, and once contained his well-known badge of the White Hart,¹ which still remains, in colossal proportions, painted on the fragile partition which shuts off the Muniment Room from the southern triforium of the Nave. He affected a peculiar veneration for the Confessor. He bore his arms, and when he went over to Ireland, which 'was very pleasing to the Irish,'² by a special grace granted them to his favourite, the Earl of Norfolk.³ 'By St. Edward!' was his favourite oath.⁴ He had a ring, which he confided to St. Edward's Shrine when he was not out of England.⁵ His portrait⁶ long remained in the Abbey, probably in the attitude and dress in which he appeared at the Feast of St. Edward, or (as has been conjectured) when he sat 'on a lofty throne' in Old Palace Yard, and gave a momentary precedence to the Abbots of Westminster, over the Abbots of St. Albans.⁷ It is the oldest contemporary representation of any English sovereign, an unquestionable likeness of the fatal and (as believed at the time) unparalleled beauty which turned Richard's feeble brain. The original picture had almost disappeared under successive attempts at restoration. It was reserved for a distinguished artist of our own day to recover the pristine form and features; the brow and eyes still to be traced in the descendants of his line;⁸ the curling masses of auburn hair, the large heavy eyes, the long thin nose, the short tufted hair under his smooth chin,⁹ the soft and melan-

¹ The badge was first given at a tournament in 1396, taken from his mother, Joan of Kent. According to the legend, it was derived from the white stag caught at Besastine, near Bagshot, in Windsor Forest, with the collar round its neck, '*Nemo me tantum gat; Caesaris sum.*' From the popularity of Richard II., it was adopted by his followers with singular tenacity, and hence the difficulty which Henry IV. experienced in suppressing it. (*Archæologia*, xx. 106, 152; xxix. 38, 40.) Hence also its frequency as the sign of inns. Hence, in Epworth Church, in Lincolnshire, it has been recently found painted with the arms of the Mowbrays, his faithful adherents.

² Creton. (*Arch.* xx. 28.)

³ It was one of the articles of the impeachment of the Earl of Surrey by Henry VIII.

⁴ Creton. (*Arch.* xx. 43.)

⁵ Inventory of Relics.

⁶ It hung above the pew used by the Lord Chancellor, on the south side of the Choir, till, injured by the wigs of successive occupants, it was removed, in 1775, to the Jerusalem Chamber. (See Chapter VI.) For the whole history of the portrait, and its successful restoration by Mr. Richmond, with the aid of Mr. Merrit, see the full account, by Mr. George Scharf, in the *Fine Arts Quarterly Review*, February 1867.

⁷ Riley's Preface to *Walsingham's Abbots of St. Albans*, vol. iii. p. lxxv.; Weaver, p. 473.

⁸ The Prince of Wales and the Princess Alice may be specially mentioned.

⁹ Evesham, pp. 162, 169.—In a rage his colour fled, and he became deadly pale. (*Arch.* xx. 43; Shakspeare's *Richard II.*, act. ii. sc. 1.)

choly expression, which suits at once the Richard of history and of Shakspeare.¹

Was this face the face
That every day under his household roof
Did keep ten thousand men ? Was this the face
That, like the sun, did make beholders wink ?
Was this the face that faced so many follies,
And was at last out-faced by Bolingbroke ? ' 2

Richard is thus a peculiarly Westminster King ; and it is clear from all these indications that he must have desired for himself and all for whom he cared,³ a burial as near as possible to the Royal Saint of Westminster. The grandchildren of Edward I. were removed from their place in the Confessor's Chapel to the Chapel of St. John the Baptist, and on the vacant site thus secured was raised the tomb for his wife, Anne Funeral of Queen Anne, 1394. of Bohemia, the patroness of the Wycliffites, the link between Wycliffe and Huss. The King's extravagant grief for her loss, which caused him to raze to the ground the Palace at Sheen, in which she died, broke out also at her funeral.⁴ It was celebrated at an enormous cost. Hundreds of wax candles were brought from Flanders. On reaching the Abbey from St. Paul's he was roused to a frenzy of rage, by finding that the Earl of Arundel not only had come too late for the procession, but asked to go away before the ceremony was over. He seized a cane from the hand of one of the attendants, and struck the Earl such a blow on the head, as to bring him to the ground at his feet. The sacred pavement was stained with blood, and the service was so long delayed, by the altercation and reconciliation, that night came on before it was completed.⁵ The King's affection for his wife was yet further to be shown by the arrangement of his own effigy by the side of hers, grasping her hand in his. The tomb was completed during his reign,⁶ and decorated with the ostrich-feathers and lions of Tomb of Anne, and of Richard II., 1396. Bohemia, the eagles of the Empire, the leopards of England, the broomcods of the Plantagenets, and the sun rising through the black clouds of Crécy.⁷ The rich gilding and

¹ Compare also Gray's lines, Chapter II. For the chair in which he sits, see Mr. Scharf, *Fine Arts Quarterly Review*, p. 36.

² *Richard II.*, act iv. sc. 1.

³ *Gleanings*, 174. See Chapter IV.

⁴ Weever, p. 477.

⁵ Trokelowe, pp. 169, 424.

⁶ Neale, ii. 107-112.

⁷ For a full description of the armorial bearings, see *Arch.* xxix. 43, 47, 51. Some of them appear also on Langham's tomb (*ibid.* 53). — See Chapter V.; also *Memorials of Canterbury*, pp. 153, 154, 174-182.

ornaments can still be discerned through their thick coating of indurated dust.¹ The inscription round the tomb contains the first indication of the conflict with the rising Reformers—in the pride with which Richard records his beauty, his wisdom, and his orthodoxy :

Corpore procerus,² animo prudens ut Homerus,
Obruit hæreticos, et eorum stravit amicos.³

But whether the King himself really reposes in the sepulchre which he had so carefully constructed is open to grave doubt.

His Burial
at Langley,
1399.
Removed
to West-
minster,
1413.

A corpse was brought from Pomfret to London by Henry IV., with the face exposed, and thence conveyed to the Friars at Langley ;⁴ and long afterwards, partly as an expiation for Henry's sins, partly to show that Richard was really dead, it was carried back by Henry V. from Langley, and was buried in state in this tomb.⁵ The features were recognised by many, and were believed to resemble the unfortunate King ; but there were still some who maintained that it was the body of his chaplain, Maudlin, whose likeness to the King was well known.⁶ Twice the interior of the tomb has been seen : once in the last century by an accidental opening in the basement, and again more fully in 1871, on occasion of the reparation of the monument by the Board of Works. The skulls of the King and Queen were visible ; no mark of violence was to be seen on either. The skeletons were nearly perfect ; even some of the teeth were preserved. The two copper-gilt crowns which were described on the first occasion had disappeared ; but the staff, the sceptre, part of the ball, the two pairs of royal gloves, the fragments of peaked shoes as in the portrait, still remained.⁷ In this tomb, thus closing the precinct of the Chapel, the direct line of the descendants of its founder Henry III. was brought to an end ; and with it closes a complete period of English history.⁸

¹ *Arch.* xxix. 57.

² This contradicts the Evesham chronicler, who says he was short (p. 169).

³ See the whole inscription in Neale, ii. 110.

⁴ See Pauli, iii. 60.

⁵ Turner, ii. 380.

⁶ Creton (*Arch.* xx. 220, 409). But Maudlin had been beheaded a month before. (Pauli, iii. 11.)

⁷ The bodies were in a small vault beneath the monument. The bones

and the relics were carefully replaced. The investigation is described at length in the *Archæologia* of 1879.

⁸ Thomas of Woodstock, youngest son of Edward III., murdered at the instigation of Richard II., Thomas of was interred on the south Woodstock side of the Confessor's Chapel, beneath the pavement, under a splendid brass (see Sandford, p. 230), of which nothing but the indentations can now be traced. His widow lies

The Lancastrian House, which begins the new transitional epoch, reaching across the fifteenth century, had no place in this immediate circle. Henry IV., although he died almost within the walls of the Abbey, sought his last resting-place in Canterbury Cathedral; and it may be, that had his son succeeded only to the affection of the great ecclesiastical party, which the crafty and superstitious usurper had conciliated, Westminster would have been deserted for Canterbury.¹ But Henry V. cherished a peculiar veneration for the Abbey, which had been the scene of that great transformation,² from a wild licentious youth to a steady determined man, to an austere champion of orthodoxy, to the greatest soldier of the age, 'Hostium victor et sui.' Not only did he bring back the dead Richard—not only did he give lands and fat bucks to the Convent, but he added to the Church itself some of its most essential features. The Nave—which had remained stationary since the death of Edward I., except so far as it had been carried on by the private munificence of Abbot Langham³—was, by the orders of Henry V., prolonged nearly to its present extremity by the great architect July 7, 1413. of that age, remembered now for far other reasons—Dec. 25, 1415. Whittington, Lord Mayor of London.⁴ It was continued, as has been already remarked, in the same style as that which had prevailed when it was first begun, two centuries Nov. 23, 1415. before. The first grand ceremonial which it witnessed was worthy of itself—the procession which assisted at the Te Deum for the victory of Agincourt.⁵

It was just before the expedition which terminated in that victory, that the King declared in his will his intention to be buried in the Abbey, with directions so precise as to show that he must carefully have studied the difficulties and the capabilities of the locality.⁶

in the Chapel of St. Edmund, under a brass representing her in her conventual dress as a nun of Barking. Philippa, Philippa, widow of Edward Duke of Duchess of York, afterwards wife of York, 1433. Sir Walter Fitzwalter, was the first to occupy the Chapel of St. Nicholas, built probably in the time of Edward I., to receive the relics of that saint, and next in dignity to those of St. Edward and St. Edmund. Her tomb (now removed to the side) was then in the middle of the Chapel. (Neale, ii. 170.)

¹ After Edward the Confessor's tomb, Sir Roger de Coverley was shown 'Henry 'the Fourth's; upon which he shook 'his head, and told us there was fine 'reading from the casualties of that 'reign.' (*Spectator*, No. 329.) This was doubtless a confusion either in the good knight, or his guide, with *Henry III's* tomb.

² See Chapter V. ³ Ibid.

⁴ Redman, pp. 70-72; *Gleanings*, 213; Rymer, *Fœd.* ix. 78.

⁵ *Memorials of London*, 621.

⁶ Rymer, *Fœd.* ix. 289.

The fulfilment of his intention derives additional force from the circumstances of his death. Like his father, he had conceived the fixed purpose of another crusade. He had borrowed from the Countess of Westmoreland the 'Chronicle of Jerusalem' and the 'Voyage of Godfrey de Bouillon'; he had sent out a Palestine Exploration party under Chevalier Lannoy.¹ Just at this juncture his mortal illness overtook him at Vincennes.² When the Fifty-first Psalm was chanted to him, he paused at the words, 'Build Thou the walls of Jerusalem,' and fervently repeated them. 'As surely as I expect to die,' he said, 'I intended, after I had established peace in France, to go and conquer Jerusalem, if it had been the good pleasure of my Creator to have let me live my due time.' A few minutes after, as if speaking to the evil spirit of his youth, he cried out, 'Thou liest—thou liest! my part is with my Lord Jesus Christ;' and then, with the words strongly uttered, '*In manus tuas, Domine, ipsum terminum redemisti!*'—he expired.³

So much had passed since the time when he wrote his will, in the third year of his reign, that it seemed open for France and England to contest the glory of retaining him. Paris and Rouen both offered, it is said, immense sums of money for that purpose.⁴ But his known attachment to Westminster prevailed, and the most sumptuous arrangements were made for the funeral. The long procession from Paris to Calais, and from Dover to London, was headed by the King of Scots, James I., as chief mourner, followed by Henry's widow, Catherine of Valois. At each stage between Dover and London, at Canterbury, Ospringe, Rochester, and Dartford, funeral services were celebrated. On the procession reaching London, it was met by all the clergy.⁵ The obsequies were performed in the presence of Parliament, first at St. Paul's and then at the Abbey. No English king's funeral had ever been so grand. It is this scene alone which brings the interior of the Abbey on the stage of Shakspeare⁶—

Funeral of
Henry V.,
November,
1422.

Hung be the heavens with black, yield day to night! . . .
King Henry the Fifth, too famous to live long!
England ne'er lost a king of so much worth.

¹ *Arch.* xxi. 312; Rymer, x. 307; Pauli, iii. 178.

² He was attacked by a violent dysentery, from the excessively hot summer,—the 'mal de St. Fiacre,'—August 31, at midnight. (Pauli, iii. 173.)

³ Pauli, iii. 178.

⁴ Walsingham, p. 407.

⁵ Ibid. p. 408.

⁶ Shakspeare's *Henry VI.*, First Part, act i. sc. i.

On the splendid car, accompanied by torches and white-robed priests innumerable, lay the effigy, now for the first time seen in the royal funerals.¹ Behind were led up the Nave, to the altar steps, his three chargers. To give a worthy place to the mighty dead a severe strain was put on the capacity of the Abbey. Room for his grave was created by a summary process, on which no previous King or Abbot had ventured. The extreme eastern end of the Confessor's Chapel, hitherto devoted to the sacred relics, was cleared out; and in their place was deposited the body of the most splendid King that England had down to that time produced;—second only as a warrior to the Black Prince—second only as a sovereign to Edward I. His tomb, accordingly, was regarded almost as that of ^{His tomb.} saint in Paradise.² The passing cloud of reforming zeal, which Chichele had feared, had been, as Chichele hoped, diverted by the French wars. From the time of Henry's conversion he affected and attained an austere piety unusual among his predecessors. Instead of their wild oaths, he had only two words, 'Impossible,' or 'It must be done.' In his army he forbade the luxury of feather beds. Had he conquered the whole of France, he would have destroyed all its vines, with a view of suppressing drunkenness.³ He was the most determined enemy of Wycliffe and of all heretics that Europe contained.⁴ He had himself intended that the relics should be still retained in the same locality, though transferred to the chamber above his tomb.⁵ The recesses still existing in that chamber seem designed for this purpose. But the staunch support which the dead King had given to the religious world of that age, if not his brilliant achievements, seemed in the eyes of the clergy to justify a more extensive change. The relics were altogether removed, and placed in a chest, between the tomb of Henry III. and the Shrine of the Confessor, and the chamber was exclusively devoted to the celebration of services for his soul on the most elaborate scale. He alone of the Kings, hitherto buried in the Abbey, had ordered a separate Chantry to be erected, where masses might be for ever offered up.⁶ It was to be raised over his tomb. It was to have an altar in honour of

¹ Previously the Kings themselves had been exhibited in their royal attire. (Bloxham, p. 92.) See Chapter IV.

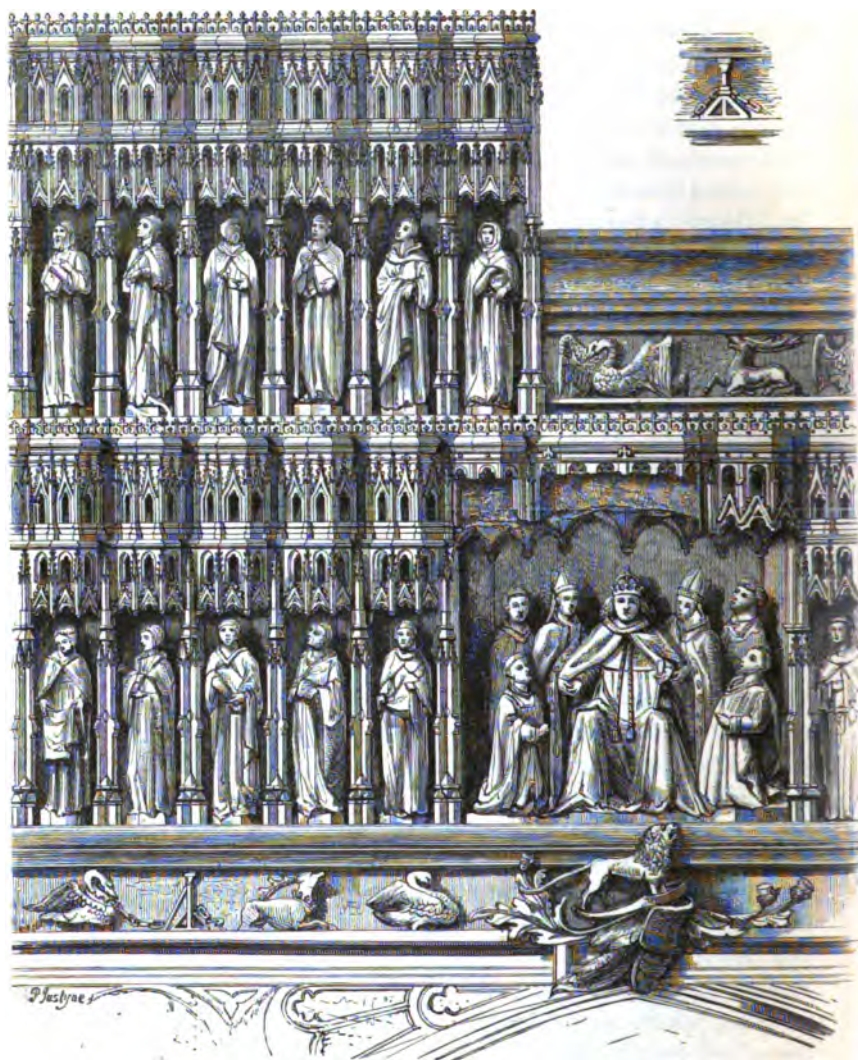
² Monstrelet, pp. 325, 326.

³ Pauli, iii. 175.

⁴ Rymer, x. 291, 604; Pauli, iii. 177.

⁵ Rymer, ix. 289.

⁶ They were specified in his will, and amounted to 20,000. (Rymer, ix. 290.) John Arden was clerk of the works, and provided the Caen stone. A similar Chantry was prepared by the side of his father's tomb at Canterbury.



CHANTRY OF HENRY V.

the Annunciation.¹ For one whole year '30 poor persons' were to recite there the Psalter of the Virgin, closing with these words in the vulgar tongue—'Mother of God, remember thy servant Henry who puts his whole trust in thee.'² It was to be high enough for the people down in the Abbey to see the



HELMET, SHIELD, AND SADDLE OF HENRY V., AS SUSPENDED OVER HIS TOMB.

priests officiating there. Accordingly a new Chapel sprang up, growing out of that of St. Edward, and almost reaching the dignity of another Lady Chapel. It towers above the Plantagenet graves beneath, as his empire towered above their kingdom. As ruthlessly as any improvement of modern times, it defaced and in part concealed the beautiful monuments of

¹ This is sculptured over the door.

² Rymer, ix. 289.

Eleanor and Philippa. Its structure is formed out of the first letter of his name—H. Its statues represent not only the glories of Westminster, in the persons of its two founders,¹ but the glories of the two kingdoms which he had united—St. George, the patron of England; St. Denys, the patron of France. The sculptures round the Chapel break out into a vein altogether new in the Abbey. They describe the personal peculiarities of the man and his history—the scenes of his coronation, with all the grandees of his Court around him, and his battles in France. Amongst the heraldic emblems—the swans and antelopes derived from the De Bohuns²—is the flaming beacon or cresset light which he took for his badge, ‘showing thereby that, although his virtues and good parts had been formerly obscured, and lay as a dead coal, waiting light to kindle it, by reason of tender years and evil company, notwithstanding, he being now come to his perfecter years and riper understanding had shaken off his evil counsellors, and being now on his high imperial throne, that his virtues should now shine as the light of a cresset, which is no ordinary light.’³ Aloft were hung his large emblazoned shield, his saddle, and his helmet, after the example of the like personal accoutrements of the Black Prince at Canterbury.

His saddle. The shield has lost its splendour, but is still there.⁴

The saddle is that on which he

Vaulted with such ease into his seat,
As if an angel dropp’d down from the clouds,
To witch the world with noble horsemanship.⁵

The helmet—which, from its elevated position, has almost become a part of the architectural outline of the Abbey,

His helmet. and on which many a Westminster boy has wonderingly gazed from his place in the Choir—is in all probability ‘that very casque that did affright the air at Agincourt,’⁶ which twice saved his life on that eventful day—‘the bruised helmet’ which he refused to have borne in state before him on his triumphal

¹ Unless the figure on the south side is King Arthur, in accordance with the seal of Henry V., which has the Confessor on one side and Arthur on the other.

² See Roberts’s *Houses of York and Lancaster*, ii. 254, 255.

³ MS. history, quoted in Gough’s *Sepulchral Monuments*, ii. 69.

⁴ Its ornaments still appear in Sandford, 280.

⁵ Shakespeare’s *Henry IV.*, First Part, act iv. sc. 1.

⁶ It is lined with leather, and must have been richly gilded outside. I fear that the marks upon it are merely the holes for attaching the crest, &c., and not the marks of the ponderous sword of the Duke of Alençon.

entry into London, 'for that he would have the praise chiefly 'given to God.'¹

Being free from vainness and self-glorious pride;
Giving full trophy, signal and ostent
Quite from himself to God.²

Below is his tomb, which still bears some marks of the inscription which makes him the Hector of his age. Upon it lay his effigy stretched out, cut from the solid heart of an English oak, plated with silver-gilt, with a head of solid silver. It has suffered more than any other monument in the Abbey. Two teeth of gold were plundered in Edward IV.'s reign.³ The whole of the silver was carried off by some robbers, who had 'broken in the night-season into the Church of West-minster,' at the time of the Dissolution.⁴ But, even in its mutilated form, the tomb has always excited the keen interest of Englishmen. The robbery 'of the image of King Henry 'of Monmouth' was immediately investigated by the Privy Council. Sir Philip Sidney felt, that 'who goes but to West-minster, in the church may see Harry the Fifth;'⁵ and Sir Roger de Coverley's anger was roused at the sight of 'the 'figure of one of our English Kings without a head, which had 'been stolen away several years since.' 'Some Whig, I'll 'warrant you. You ought to lock up your kings better; they'll 'carry off the body too, if you don't take care.'⁶

If the splendour of Henry V.'s tomb marks the culmination of the Lancastrian dynasty, the story of its fall is no less told in the singular traces left in the Abbey by the history of his widow and his son. They, no doubt, raised the sumptuous structure over the dead King's grave; and they also clung, though with far different fates, to the neighbourhood of the sepulchre for which they had done so much.

Queen Catherine, after her second marriage with Owen Tudor, sank into almost total oblivion. On her death her remains were placed in the Abbey,⁷ but only in a rude tomb in the Lady Chapel beyond, in a 'badly apparelled⁸ state.' There the coffin lay for many years. It was, on the destruction

¹ Account of the helmet by the Ironmongers' Company, pp. 145, 146.

² Shakspeare's *Henry V.*, act v., Chorus.

³ Inventory of Relics. (Archives.)

⁴ Jan. 30, 1546. *Archæol.* xviii. 27. See Keepe, p. 155. The grates were

added by Henry VI. (Rymer, x. 490.)

⁵ *Defence of the Earl of Leicester.* (P. Cunningham.)

⁶ *Spectator*, No. 329. It would seem that the name was not given.

⁷ Strickland's *Queens*, iii. 183, 209.

⁸ Archives.

of that Chapel by her grandson, placed on the right side of her royal husband,¹ wrapt in a sheet of lead taken from the roof; and in it from the waist upwards was exposed to the visitors of the Abbey; and so it 'continued to be seen, the bones being firmly united, and thinly clothed with flesh, like scrapings of fine leather.'² Pepys, on his birthday visit to the Abbey, 'kissed a Queen.'³

Tomb of Catherine of Valois. Died June 3, buried Feb. 8, 1437.

This strange neglect was probably the result of the disfavour into which her memory had fallen from her ill-assorted marriage. But in the legends of the Abbey it was 'by her own appointment (as he that showeth the tombs will tell you by tradition), in regard of her disobedience to her husband, for being delivered of her son, Henry VI., at Windsor, the place which he forbade.'⁴ This desecration was brought to an end by the interment of the remains in a vault under the Villiers monument, in the Chapel of St. Nicholas, at the time of the making of the adjacent Percy vault in 1778. A hundred years later, in 1878, they were finally, with the sanction of Queen Victoria, deposited in the chantry of Henry V. under the ancient altar-slab of the chapel.

Henry VI. was not willing, any more than his father, to abandon his hold on the Confessor's Shrine. He, first of his house, revived the traditional name of *Edward* in the person of his first-born son, who was born on St. Edward's Day.⁵ A long recollection lived in the memory of the old officers and workmen of the Abbey, how they had, in the disastrous period between the Battle of St. Albans and the Battle of Wakefield, seen the King visit the Abbey, at all hours of the day and night, to fix the place of his sepulture.⁶ On one occasion, between 7 and 8 P.M., he came from the Palace, attended by his confessor, Thomas Manning, afterwards Dean of Windsor. The abbot (Kirkton) received him by torchlight at the postern, and they went round the Chapel of the Confessor together. It was proposed to him, with the reckless disregard of antiquity which marked those ages, to move the tomb of Eleanor. The King, with a better feeling, said, 'that might not be well in that place,' and that 'he could in nowise do it;'

¹ As specified in Feckenham's inscription, added in the next century.

² Dart, ii. 39.—The position is seen in Sandford, 289.

³ Pepys' *Diary* (Feb. 24, 1668), iv. 253.

⁴ Weever, p. 475; Fuller, book iv. art. xv. § 48.

⁵ Ridgway, p. 178.

⁶ Archives.

Visits of Henry VI. 1461-1460.

and, on being still pressed, fell into one of his silent fits, and gave them no answer. He then was led into the Lady Chapel, saw his mother's neglected coffin, and heard the proposal that it should be more 'honourably apparelled,' and that he should be laid between it and the altar of that Chapel. He was again mute. On another occasion he visited the Chapel of the Confessor with Flete, the Prior and historian of the Abbey. Henry asked him, with a strange ignorance, the names of the Kings amongst whose tombs he stood, till he came to his father's grave, where he made his prayer. He then went up into the Chantry, and remained for more than an hour surveying the whole Chapel. It was suggested to him that the tomb of Henry V. should be pushed a little on one side, and his own placed beside it. With more regal spirit than was usual in him, he replied, 'Nay, let him alone; he lieth like a noble prince. I would not trouble him.' Finally, the Abbot proposed that the great Reliquary should be moved from the position which it now occupied close beside the Shrine, so as to leave a vacant space for a new tomb. The devout King anxiously asked whether there was any spot where the Relics, thus a second time moved, could be deposited, and was told that they might stand 'at the back side of the altar.' He then, 'marked with his foot seven feet,' and turned to the nobles who were with him. 'Lend me your staff,' he said to the Lord Cromwell; 'is it not fitting I should have a place here, where my father and my ancestors lie, near St. Edward?' And then, pointing with a white staff to the spot indicated, said, 'Here methinketh is a convenient place;' and again, still more emphatically, and with the peculiar asseveration which, in his pious and simple lips, took the place of the savage oaths of the Plantagenets, 'Forsooth, forsooth, here will we lie! Here is a good place for us.' The master-mason of the Abbey, Thirsk by name, took an iron instrument, and traced the circuit of the grave on the pavement. Within three days the Relics were removed, and the tomb was ordered. The 'marbler' (as we should now say, the statuary) and the coppersmith received forty groats for their instalment, and gave one groat to the workmen, who long remembered the conversation of their masters at supper by this token. But 'the great trouble' came on, and nothing was done. Henry died in the Tower, and thence his corpse was taken first to the Abbey of Chertsey, and then (in consequence, it was said, of the miracles

Death of
Henry VI.,
May 22,
1471.

which attracted pilgrims to it) was removed by Richard III. to St. George's Chapel at Windsor—perhaps to lie near the scene of his birth, perhaps to be more closely under the vigilant eye of the new dynasty.

For now it was that the attachment which so many Princes had shown to Windsor became definitely fixed. Edward IV., though he died at Westminster, though his obsequies were celebrated in St. Stephen's Chapel and in the Abbey, and though to his reign we probably owe the screen which divides the Shrine from the High Altar, was buried in St. George's Chapel, over against his unfortunate rival. This severance of the York dynasty from the Confessor's Shrine marks the first beginning of the sentiment which has eventually caused the Royal Sepultures at Westminster to be superseded by Windsor. The obligations of Edward to the Sanctuary which had sheltered his wife and children compelled him indeed to contribute towards the completion of the Abbey. Here, as at the Basilica of Bethlehem, fourscore oaks were granted by

Edward IV.,
died April 9,
1483;
buried at
Windsor,
April 17,
1483.

Margaret
of York,
Dec. 11,
1472.

Anne of
Warwick,
1475.
Anne
Mowbray
of York.

him for the repairs of the roof.¹ But, whilst Edward lay at Windsor, George at Tewkesbury, Richard at Leicester, Edward V. and his brother in the Tower, the younger George and his sister Mary at Windsor,² Cecilia at Quarre³ in the Isle of Wight, Anne at Thetford (now at Framlingham), Catherine at Tiverton, Bridget at Dartford,⁴ one small tomb alone—that of Margaret, a child of nine months old—found its way into the Abbey. It now stands by Richard II.'s monument, apparently moved from 'the altar end, afore St. Edward's Shrine.' Anne Neville, the Queen of Richard III., and daughter of the Earl of Warwick, is believed to be buried on the south side of the altar;⁵ Anne Mowbray, the betrothed wife of young Richard of York, in the Islip Chapel.⁶

But the passion for the House of Lancaster still ran underground; and when the Civil Wars were closed, its revival caused the Abbey to leap again into new life. In every im-

¹ Neale, i. 92; Tobler's *Bethlehem*, p. 112. See Chapter V.

² Green's *Princesses*, iii. 402.

³ Ibid. iv. 436.—Her first husband, Lord Wells, was buried in the Abbey 1498, in the Lady Chapel, not yet destroyed. (Ibid. iii. 428.) Her connection with the Isle of Wight was through her second husband, Thomas Kyme, a

Lincolnshire gentleman, with whom she lived at East Standen.

⁴ Ibid. iii. 437; iv. 11, 12, 38, 47.

⁵ Crull, p. 23.—A leaden coffin was found there in 1866. The stone is supposed to be preserved in the pavement of the S. Transept.

⁶ Keepe 133.

portant church an image of the sainted Henry had been erected. Even in York Minster pilgrimages were made to his figure in the rood-screen, which it required the whole authority of the Northern Primate to suppress.¹ This general sentiment could not be neglected by the Tudor King. He had from the first bound up his fortunes with those of Henry of Lancaster, amongst whose miracles was conspicuous the prediction that Henry Tudor would succeed him.² Accordingly, he determined to reconstruct at Windsor the Chapel at the east end of St. George's, originally founded by Henry III. and rebuilt by Edward III., in order to become the receptacle of the sacred remains, with which he intended that his own dust should mingle. Then it was that the two Abbeys of Chertsey and of Westminster put in their claims for the body—Chertsey on the ground that Richard III. had taken it thence by violence to Windsor; Westminster on the ground that the King, as we have seen, had in his lifetime determined there to be buried. Old vergers, servants, and workmen, who remembered the dates only by the imperfect sign that they were before or after 'the field of York, or of St. Albans,' had yet a perfect recollection of the very words which Henry had used; and the Council, which was held at Greenwich, to adjudicate the triangular contest, decided in favour of Westminster.³ Windsor made a stout resistance, and continued its endeavours to reverse the decree by legal processes. But the King and Council persevered in carrying out what were believed to have been Henry's intentions; and, accordingly, the unfinished chapel at Windsor was left to the singular fate which was to befall it in after-times—the sepulchre designed for Cardinal Wolsey the Roman Catholic chapel of James II., the burial-place of the family of George III., and finally the splendid monument of the virtues of the Saxon Prince, whose funeral rites it in part witnessed.

At Westminster every preparation was made to receive the saintly corpse. Henry VII. characteristically stated the great expenses to which he was subjected, and insisted on the Convent of Westminster contributing its quota of 500*l.*, (equal to 5000*l.* of our money) for transference of 'the holy body.'⁴ This sum was duly paid by Abbot Fascet. The King determined to found

Devotion to
Henry VI.

Claims of
Windsor,
Chertsey,
and West-
minster for
his burial.

Decision in
favour of
West-
minster.
1498.

¹ Order of Archbishop Booth, October 27, 1479.

² Pauli, iii. 634.

³ Archives.

⁴ Ibid.

at Westminster a Chapel yet more magnificent than that which he had designed at Windsor, a greater than the Confessor's Shrine, in order 'right shortly to translate into the same the 'body and reliques of his uncle of blissful memory, King Henry 'VI.'¹ Pope Julius II. granted the licence for the removal, declaring that the obscurity in which the enemies of Henry had combined to envelope his miracles, first at Chertsey and then at Windsor, was at last to be dispersed.²

This was the last cry of 'the aspiring blood of Lancaster.' Suddenly, imperceptibly, it 'sank into the ground.' The language of the Westminster records certainly implies that the body was removed (according to a faint tradition, of which no distinct trace remains) to some 'place undistinguished' in the Abbey.³ But the language of the wills both of Henry VII.⁴ and of Henry VIII. no less clearly indicates that it remains, according to the Windsor tradition, in the south aisle of St. George's Chapel. Unquestionably, no solemn 'translation' ever took place. The 'canonisation,' which the Pope had promised, was never carried out. The Chapel at Westminster was still pushed forward, but it became the Chapel, not of Henry VI., but of Henry VII.

It may be that this change of purpose represents the penurious spirit of the King, whose features, even in his monumental effigy, were thought by an observant antiquary to indicate 'a strong reluctance to quit the possessions of this world;'⁵ and that the failure of canonisation was occasioned by his unwillingness, parsimonious even beyond the rest of his race, to part with the sum requisite for so costly an undertaking. But it may be that, as he became more firmly seated on his throne, the consciousness of his own importance increased, and the remembrance of his succession to Henry of Lancaster was gradually merged in the proud thought that, as the founders of a new dynasty he and his Queen would take the chief place 'in 'the common sepulchre of the kings of this realm' with 'his 'noble progenitors.'⁶

¹ Will of Henry VII. (Neale, i. pt. ii. p. 7.)

² Rymer, xiii. 103, 104; Dugdale, i. 315.

³ Malcolm, pp. 218, 225; Speed, p. 863.

⁴ Neale (part ii.), i. 7. Will of Henry VIII. (Fuller's *Church Hist.* A.D. 1546.)

⁵ Pennant, p. 29.

⁶ Will of Henry VII.

The Chapel of Henry VII. is indeed well called by his name, for it breathes of himself through every part. It is the most signal example of the contrast between his closeness in life, and his 'magnificence in the structures he hath left to posterity'¹—King's College Chapel, the Savoy, Westminster. Its very style was believed to have been a reminiscence of his exile, being 'learned in France,' by himself and his companion Fox.² His pride in its grandeur was commemorated by the ship, vast for those times, which he built, 'of equal cost with his Chapel,' 'which afterwards, in the reign of Mary, sank in the sea and vanished in a moment.'³

It was to be his chantry as well as his tomb, for he was determined not to be behind the Lancastrian princes in devotion; and this unusual anxiety for the sake of a soul not too heavenward in its affections expended itself in ^{The} Chantry. the immense apparatus of services which he provided. Almost a second Abbey was needed to contain the new establishment of monks, who were to sing in their stalls 'as long as the world 'shall endure.'⁴ Almost a second Shrine, surrounded by its blazing tapers, and shining like gold with its glittering bronze, was to contain his remains.

To the Virgin Mary, to whom the chapel was dedicated, he had a special devotion.⁶ Her 'in all his necessities he had made his 'continual refuge;' and her figure, accordingly, looks ^{The Saints.} down upon his grave from the east end, between the apostolic patrons of the Abbey, Peter and Paul, with 'the holy 'company of heaven—that is to say, angels, archangels, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, and 'virgins,' to 'whose singular mediation and prayers he also 'trusted,' including the royal saints of Britain, St. Edward, St. Edmund, St. Oswald, St. Margaret of Scotland, who stand, as he directed, sculptured, tier above tier, on every side of the Chapel;⁷ some retained from the ancient Lady Chapel; the greater part the work of his own age. Round his tomb stand his 'accustomed Avours or guardian saints' (as round the chapel

¹ Fuller's *Worthies*, iii. 555.

² Speed, p. 757. This, however, is a mistake. It is partly English.

³ Fuller's *Worthies*, iii. 553.

⁴ The stalls at that time, and till the arrangements for the Knights of the Bath, left free entrance from the main Chapel into the north and south aisle on each side. These entrances were

used on the occasion of the royal funerals in those aisles. See MS. Herald's College in the funeral of Charles II.

⁵ Malcolm, pp. 226, 227. For the cost (£30,000, for purchasing lands for his chapel), see Pauli, v. 644.

⁶ Will of Henry VII. (Neale, ii. 6, 7).

⁷ For the enumeration of these see Neale, ii. 39.

probably were their altars), to whom 'he calls and cries'—St. Michael, St. John the Baptist, St. John the Evangelist, St. George, St. Anthony, St. Edward, St. Vincent, St. Anne, St. Mary Magdalene, and St. Barbara,' each with their peculiar emblems,—'so to aid, succour, and defend him, that the ancient and ghostly enemy, nor none other evil or damnable spirit, have no power to invade him, nor with their wickedness to annoy him, but with holy prayers to be intercessors for him to his Maker and Redeemer.'¹ These were the adjurations of the last mediæval King, as the Chapel was the climax of the latest mediæval architecture. In the very urgency of the King's anxiety for the perpetuity of those funeral ceremonies, we seem to discern an unconscious presentiment of terror lest their days were numbered.

But, although in this sense the Chapel hangs on tenaciously to the skirts of the ancient Abbey and the ancient Church, yet that solemn architectural pause at its entrance—which arrests the most careless observer, and renders it a separate structure, a foundation 'adjoining the Abbey,' rather than forming part of it²—corresponds with marvellous fidelity to the pause and break in English history of which Henry VII.'s reign is the expression. It is the close of the Middle Ages: the apple of Granada in its ornaments shows that the last Crusade was over; its flowing draperies and classical attitudes indicate that the Renaissance had already begun. It is the end of the Wars of the Roses, combining Henry's right of conquest with his fragile claim of hereditary descent. On the one hand, it is the glorification of the victory of Bosworth. The angels, at the four corners of the tomb, held or hold the likeness of the crown which he won on that famous day. In the stained glass we see the same crown hanging on the green bush in the fields of Leicestershire. On the other hand, like the Chapel of King's College at Cambridge, it asserts everywhere the memory of the 'holy Henry's shade;' the Red Rose of Lancaster appears in every pane of glass: and in every corner is the Portcullis—the 'Altera securitas,'³ as he termed it, with an allusion to its own meaning, and the double safeguard of his succession—which he derived through John of Gaunt from the Beaufort Castle in Anjou, inherited from Blanche

¹ Will of Henry VII. (Neale, ii. 6, 7.) to the Chapel, see Dugdale, i. 316–320.
² Neale (part ii.), i. 28; *Biog. Brit.* ii. 669; Roberts, ii. 257.
³ Neale, i. 18. For the Bulls relating

of Navarre by Edmund Crouchback; ¹ whilst Edward IV. and Elizabeth of York are commemorated by intertwining these Lancastrian symbols with the Greyhound of Cecilia Neville, wife of Richard Duke of York, with the Rose in the Sun, which scattered the mists at Barnet, and the Falcon on the Fetterlock, ² by which the first Duke of York expressed to his descendants that 'he was locked up from the hope of the kingdom, 'but advising them to be quiet and silent, as God knoweth 'what may come to pass.'

It is also the revival of the ancient, Celtic, British element in the English monarchy, after centuries of eclipse. It is a strange and striking thought, as we mount the steps of Henry VII.'s Chapel, that we enter there a mausoleum of princes, whose boast it was to be descended, not from the Confessor or the Conqueror, but from Arthur and Llewellyn; ³ and that round about the tomb, side by side with the emblems of the great English Houses, is to be seen the Red Dragon ⁴ of the last British king, Cadwallader—'the dragon of the great 'Pendragonship' of Wales, thrust forward by the Tudor king in every direction, to supplant the hated White Boar ⁵ of his departed enemy—the fulfilment, in another sense than the old Welsh bards had dreamt, of their prediction that the progeny of Cadwallader should reign again:—

Visions of glory, spare my aching sight,
Ye unborn ages, crowd not on my soul!
No more our long-lost Arthur we bewail:—
All hail, ye genuine kings! Britannia's issue, hail! ⁶

These noble lines well introduce us to the great Chapel which, as far as the Royal Tombs of the Abbey are concerned, contains within itself the whole future history of England. The Tudor sovereigns, uniting the quick understanding and fiery temper of their ancient Celtic lineage with the iron will of the Plantagenets, were the fit

¹ Stow, p. 11.

² He built his castle of Fotheringay in the form of a Fetterlock, and gave to his sons, who asked the Latin for 'fetterlock,' the expressive answer, *Hic hæc hoc taceatis*. (Dallaway's *Heraldic Inquiries*, 384, 385.) Edward IV. built the so-called Horse-shoe Cloister also in the form of a fetterlock.

³ Owen Tudor, the brother of Ed-

mund, who was monk in the Abbey, was buried in the Chapel of St. Blaise. (Crull, p. 233.)

⁴ Grafton, ii. 158.—The banner of the Red Dragon of Cadwallader, on white and green silk, was carried at Bosworth. Hence the Rouge Dragon Herald.

⁵ Roberts's *York and Lancaster*, ii. 461, 463.

⁶ Gray's *Bard*.

The revival
of the Celtic
races.

The begin-
ning of
modern
England.

inaugurators of the new birth of England at that critical season—for guiding and stimulating the Church and nation to the performance of new duties, the fulfilment of new hopes, the apprehension of new truths.

In the eighteenth year of his reign, 'on the 24th day of January, at a quarter of an hour before three of the clock at 'afternoon of the same day,'¹ the first stone of the new Chapel was laid by Abbot Islip, Sir Reginald Bray the architect, and others. In this work, as usual, the old generation was at once set aside. Not only the venerable White Rose Inn of Chaucer's garden, but the old Chapels of St. Mary and of St. Erasmus,² were swept away as ruthlessly as the Norman Church had been by Henry III. 'His grand-dame of right noble memory, Queen Catherine, wife to King Henry V., and daughter of Charles King of France' (for whose sake, amongst others, he had wished to be interred here), was thrust carelessly into the vacant space beneath her husband's Chantry. One last look had been cast backwards to the Plantagenet sepulchres. His infant daughter Elizabeth, aged three years and two months, was buried, with great³ pomp, in a small tomb at the feet of Henry III. His infant son Edward, who died four years afterwards (1499), was also buried in the Abbey. The first grave in the new Chapel was that of his wife, Elizabeth of York. She died, in giving birth to a child, who survived but a short time :

Jan. 24,
1503.
Building of
the Chapel.

Tomb of
Princess
Elizabeth.
Sept. 1498.

Elizabeth of
York, died
Saturday,
Feb. 11,
buried
Feb. 25,
1503.

Adieu, sweetheart ! my little daughter late,
Thou shalt, sweet babe, such is thy destiny,
Thy mother never know ; for here I lie.
. . . . At Westminster, that costly work of yours,
Mine own dear lord, I now shall never see.⁴

The first stone of the splendid edifice in which she now lies had been laid but a month before, and she was meanwhile buried in one of the side⁵ chapels. The sumptuousness of her obsequies, in spite of Henry's jealousy of the House of York, and of his parsimonious habits, was justly regarded as a proof

¹ Neale, ii. 6 ; Holinshed, iii. 529.

² Probably in compensation for this the small chapel at the entrance of that of St. John the Baptist was dedicated to St. Erasmus.

³ Green's *Princesses*, iv. 507 ; Stow's *Survey*, ii. 600 ; Sandford, p. 478.

⁴ More's *Elegy on Elizabeth of York*.

⁵ From a record communicated by Mr. Doyne Bell.

of his affection.¹ At the entrance of the city she was met by twenty-seven maidens all in white with tapers, to commemorate her untimely death in her twenty-seventh year. Six years afterwards he died at the splendid palace which he had called by his own name of Richmond, at the ancient Sheen. His vehement protestations of amendment—bestowing promotions, if he lived, only on virtuous, able, and learned men, executing justice indifferently to all men; his expressions of penitence, passionately grasping the crucifix, and beating his breast, were in accordance with that dread of his last hour, out of which his sepulchre had arisen. The funeral corresponded to the grandeur of the mausoleum, which was now gradually advancing to its completion. From Richmond the procession came to St. Paul's, where elaborate obsequies were closed by a sermon from Fisher, Bishop of Rochester. At Westminster, after like obsequies, and a sermon from Fitz-james, Bishop of London, who had already preached on the death of the Queen and of Prince Arthur (on Job xix. 21), 'the black velvet coffin, marked by a white satin cross 'from end to end,' was deposited, not, as in the burials of previous Kings, in the raised tomb, but in the cavernous vault beneath, by the side of his Queen. The Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots stood round, and struck their croziers on the coffin, with the word *Absolvimus*. The Archbishop of Canterbury (Warham) then cast in the earth. The vault was closed. The Heralds stripped off their tabards, and hung them on the rails of the hearse, exclaiming in French, 'The noble King Henry 'VII. is dead!' and then immediately put them on again, and cried 'Vive le noble Roy Henry VIII.!'²

Death of
Henry VII.,
Saturday,
April 21,
1509.

Burial of
Henry VII.,
May 2, 1509.

So he 'lieth buried at Westminster, in one of the stateliest 'and daintiest monuments of Europe, both for the chapel and 'the sepulchre. So that he dwelleth more richly dead, in the 'monument of his tomb, than he did alive in Richmond or any 'of his palaces. I could wish,' adds his magnificent historian, 'that he did the like in this monument of his fame.'³

His effigy represents him still to us, as he was known by tradition to the next generation, 'a comely personage, a 'little above just stature,' well and straight-limbed, but

His effigy.

¹ *Antiq. Repos.*, p. 654; Sandford, pp. 469-471; Strickland, iv. 60-62.—He spent £2832 6s. 8d. upon the funeral (Heralds' College, Privy Purse MS.)

² Leland, *Collect.* (part ii.) iv. 309.

³ Bacon's *Henry VII.* iii. 417.

⁴ 'Frontis honos, facies augusta 'heroica forma.' (Epitaph.)

'slender,' with his scanty hair and keen grey eyes,¹ 'his countenance reverend and a little like a churchman;' and 'as it was not strange or dark, so neither was it winning or pleasing, but as the face of one well disposed.'² It was completed, within twenty years from his death, by the Florentine sculptor Torregiano, the fierce rival of Michael Angelo, who 'broke the cartilage of his enemy's nose, as if it had been paste.' He lived for most of that time within the precincts of the Abbey, and there performed the feats of pugilism against the 'bears of Englishmen,' of which he afterwards boasted at Florence.

Within three months another funeral followed. In the south aisle of the Chapel, graven by the same skilful hand, lies the most beautiful and venerable figure that the Abbey contains. It is Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby, mother of Henry VII., who died, and was buried, in the midst of the rejoicings of her grandson's marriage and coronation; her chaplain (Fisher) preaching again, with a far deeper earnestness, the funeral sermon, on the loss which, to him at least, could never be replaced. 'Everyone that knew her,' he said, 'loved her, and everything that she said or did became her.'³ . . . More noble and more refined than in any of her numerous portraits, her effigy well lies in that Chapel, for to her the King, her son, owed everything. For him she lived. To end the Civil Wars by his marriage with Elizabeth of York she counted as a holy duty.⁴ Her tomb bears the heraldic⁵ emblems of her third husband, the Earl of Derby. But she still remained faithful to the memory of her first youthful love, the father of Henry VII. She was always 'Margaret Richmond.'

Her outward existence belonged to the mediæval past. She lived almost the life, in death she almost wears the garb, of an Abbess. Even her marriage with Edmund Tudor was the result of a vision of St. Nicholas. The last English sigh for the Crusades went up from those lips. She would often say, that if the Princes of Christendom would combine themselves, and march against the common enemy, the Turk, she would most willingly attend them, and be their laundress

Tomb of
Margaret
of Rich-
mond.
Died June
29, 1509,
aged 69.

Emery of
Margaret of
Richmond.

¹ Grafton, ii. 232.

² Bacon, p. 416.

³ Grafton, ii. 237.

⁴ Hallstead's *Margaret Richmond*,
p. 225.

⁵ The antelope at her feet is the supporter of the arms of Lancaster. The daisies on the chapel gates represent her name.

in the camp.¹ The bread and meat doled out to the poor of Westminster in the College Hall is the remnant of the old monastic charity which she founded in the Almonry.²

But in her monumental effigy is first seen, in a direct form, the indication of the coming changes, of which her son and his tomb are so tragically unconscious.

Foremost and bending from her golden cloud,
The venerable Margaret see !

So the Cambridge poet³ greets the Foundress of St. John's and Christ's Colleges, as of the two first Divinity Chairs in either University. She, who was the instructress-general of all the Princes of the Royal House,⁴ might by her own impulse have founded those great educational endowments. But her charity, like that of her contemporary, Bishop Fox, the founder of Corpus Christi College at Oxford, was turned into academical channels by the warning which Fisher gave her of the approaching changes, in which any merely conventual foundations would perish, and any collegiate institutions would as certainly survive.⁵ Caxton, as he worked at his printing-press, in the Almonry which she had founded, was under her special protection ;⁶ and 'the worst thing she ever did' was trying to draw Erasmus from his studies to train her untoward stepson, James Stanley, to be Bishop of Ely.⁷ Strikingly are the old and the new combined, as, round the monument of that last mediæval Princess, we trace the letters of the inscription⁸ written by that first and most universal of the Reformers.

We feel, as we stand by her tomb, that we are approaching the great catastrophe. Yet in the Abbey, as in history, there is a momentary smoothness in the torrent ere it dashes below in the cataract of the Reformation. It was Prince Arthur's death⁹—that silent prelude of the rupture with the See of Rome—which intercepted the magnificent window¹⁰ sent by the magistrates of Dort from Gouda as a present to Henry VII. for his Chapel, as a

Death of
Prince
Arthur,
April 2, 1502.
Marriage
window.

¹ Camden's *Remains*, i. 357; Fuller's *Worthies*, i. 167.

² Stow, p. 476. See Chapter V.

³ Gray's *Installation Ode*.

⁴ Jesse's *Richard III.*, p. 263.

⁵ Hallstead, p. 226.

⁶ See Chapter V.

⁷ Coleridge's *Northern Worthies*, ii. 184.

⁸ Erasmus for this received twenty shillings.

⁹ £58. 17s. 6d. was paid to the Abbot of Winchester for a hearse, possibly for Prince Arthur (*Excerpta Historica*, p. 129).

¹⁰ Now in St. Margaret's Church. See its curious history in Walcott's *Memorials of Westminster*, pp. 103, 136.

wedding-gift for Prince Arthur and Catherine of Arragon. The first of the series of losses which caused Henry VIII. to doubt the lawfulness of his marriage with Catherine is marked by the grave of the infant Prince Henry, who lies at the entrance either of this Chapel, or that of the Confessor.¹ He in that exulting youth, when all seemed so bright before him, had, it would seem, contemplated a yet further enlargement of the Abbey. Another Chapel² was to rise for the tomb of himself and Catherine of Arragon. 'Peter Torrisany, of the city of Florence, 'graver,' was still to prolong his stay to make their effigies. Their sepulchre was to be one-fourth more grand than that of Henry VII. His father's tomb was the subject of his own special care. The first draft of it was altered because 'misliked by him;' and it forms the climax of Henry VII.'s virtues, as recorded in his epitaph, that to him and his Queen England owed a Henry VIII. :

Death of
Prince
Henry, Feb.
22, 1509.

Intended
tomb of
Henry VIII.

Henricum quibus Octavum, terra Anglia, debes.

To his determination that his father should be honoured almost as a canonised saint, was probably owing the circumstance that besides the humbler altar at the foot of the tomb, for which the vacant steps still remain, was erected by the same sculptor 'the matchless altar'³ at its head, as for the shrine of another Confessor.

Nothing shows more clearly the force of the shock that followed, than the upheaving even of the solid rock of the Abbey as it came on. Nothing shows more clearly the hold which the Abbey had laid on the affections of the English people, than that it stood the shock as firmly as it did.

Not all the prestige of Royalty could save the treasures of the Confessor's Chapel. Then, doubtless, disappeared not only the questionable relics of the elder faith, but also the coronet of Llewelyn, and the banners and statues round the Shrine. Then even the bones of the Royal Saint were moved out of their place, and buried apart, till Mary brought them back to the Shrine which so long had guarded them. Then broke in the robbers who

The Reformation in
the Abbey.
1538.
August.

1546.
Jan. 30.

¹ Crull, p. 218.—If so, perhaps in a small leaden coffin found in 1866 before the High Altar.

² *Archæologia*, xvi. 80.—A reminiscence of this may be found in the

name of 'The Chapel of Henry VIII.' for the Revestry. (Dart, i. 64.) See also Chapter III.

³ Ryves's *Mercurius Rusticus*, p. 155.

carried off the brazen plates and silver head from the monument of Henry V.¹ Then all thought of enlarging or adorning the Abbey was extinguished in the mind of Henry, who turned away, perhaps with aversion, from the spot connected in his mind with the hated marriage of his youth, and determined that his bones should be laid at Windsor, beside his best beloved wife, Jane Seymour.² Then, as the tide of change in the reign of his son rose higher and higher, the monastic buildings became, in great part, the property of private individuals; the Chapter House was turned into a Record Office;³ and the Protector Somerset was believed to have meditated the demolition of the church itself.

The Abbey, however, still stands. It was saved, probably in Henry's time by the Royal Tombs, especially by that of his father—just as Peterborough Cathedral was spared for the grave of his wife, Catherine of Arragon, and St. David's (according to the local tradition) for the tomb of his grandfather, Edmund Tudor. It was saved, it is said, under the more pitiless Edward, either by the rising of the inhabitants of Westminster in its behalf, or by the sacrifice of seventeen manors to satisfy the needs of the Protector. The Shrine too, although despoiled of its treasures within and without alone of all the tombs in England which had held the remains of a canonised saint, was allowed to remain.⁴

It was natural that under Queen Mary so great a monument of the past should partake of the reaction of her reign. Not only was Westminster, almost alone of the monastic bodies, restored to something of its original splendour, but the link with Royalty was carefully renewed.⁵ Mary's first anxiety was for her brother's fitting interment. For a whole month he lay unburied, during the long negotiations between Mary and her ministers as to the mode of the funeral rites.⁶ But they ended in his burial, not, as he himself probably would have designed, beside his father and mother at Windsor, but at Westminster. 'The greatest moan was made for him as ever was heard or seen.' He was brought from Whitehall the night before 'without cross or light.' The procession from the Palace to the Abbey was a mass of

¹ See Chapter VI.

² A splendid tomb was prepared for him in St. George's Chapel. (See Sandford, p. 494.)

³ See Chapter V.

⁴ See Chapter VI.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Froude, vi. 38, 42, 49, 58.

⁷ *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, p. 82.

EDWARD
VI., died
July 6,
buried Aug.
8, 1553.

black velvet. Side by side with the banner of his own mother Jane Seymour waved the banner of his sister's mother,¹ Catherine of Arragon. He was the first King that had been buried in the Abbey since his grandfather had built his gorgeous receptacle for the Tudor dynasty. Not in the vault itself of Henry VII., fully occupied as it was by Henry himself and Elizabeth of York, but in the passage by which it is approached, underneath the sumptuous 'touchstone altar, all of 'one piece,' with its 'excellent workmanship of brass,'² 'the 'last male child of the Tudor line' was laid. Mary herself was absent, at the requiem sung in the Tower under the auspices of Gardiner. But, by a hard-won concession, the funeral service was that of the Reformed Church of England, the first ever used over an English sovereign; and 'the last 'and saddest function of his public ministry that Archbishop 'Cranmer was destined to perform,' was this interment of the Prince whom he had baptized and crowned.³ On his coffin had been fastened a leaden plate bearing an inscription, doubtless immediately after his death, unique in the tombs of English sovereigns, reciting that he was 'on earth, under Christ, of 'the Church of England and Ireland the supreme head;' and proceeding to record with a pathetic and singular earnestness the precise hour 'in the evening,' when in the close of that long and stormy day of the 6th of July he 'departed from this 'life.'⁴

It is one of our many paradoxes, that the first Protestant Prince should have thus received his burial from the bitterest enemy of the Protestant cause, and that the tomb
Tomb of
Edward VI. under which he reposed should have been the altar built for the chanting of masses which he himself had been the chief means of abolishing. It is a still greater paradox, that 'he, who deserved the *best*, should have no monument erected 'to his memory,'⁵ and that the only royal memorial destroyed⁶

¹ Machyn's *Diary*, Aug. 8, 1553.

² Ryves's *Mercurius Rusticus*, p. 155; Fuller's *Worthies*, ii. 37. — An engraving is to be seen in Sandford (p. 498). It resembled Elizabeth's tomb in style. There was an altarpiece of the Resurrection, surmounted by angels, in terra cotta, at the top holding the emblems of the Passion, and a dead Christ beneath. These were the work of Torregiano. (See the Indenture quoted in Neale, vol. i. pt. ii. 58.)

³ Froude, vi. 58. — Day, Bishop of Chichester, 'preached a good sermon,' and Cranmer administered the Communion, 'and that poorly.' (Strype's *E. M.* vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 122; *Grey Friar's Chronicle*, p. 82.)

⁴ See Appendix.

⁵ Fuller's *Worthies*, ii. 37.

⁶ In 1643. (Ryves's *Mercurius Rusticus*, p. 155. See Chapter VI.) The name on the grave was first inscribed in 1866. See Appendix.

by the Puritans should have been that of the only Puritan Prince who ever sate on the English throne.

The broken chain of royal sepulchres, which Mary thus pieced anew in her brother's grave, was carried on. Anne of Cleves, a friend both to Mary and Elizabeth—whose strange vicissitudes had conducted her from her quiet Lutheran birthplace in the Castle of Cleves, to a quiet death as a Roman Catholic convert, at Chelsea—was interred, by Mary's restored monks, on the south side of the altar. She was carried¹ past St. James's Palace and Charing Cross. Bonner, as Bishop of London, and Feckenham, as Abbot of Westminster, rode together. The scholars, the almsmen, and the monks went before. Bonner sang mass, and Feckenham preached.² An artist was brought from Cleves to construct the tomb. But it was left to be finished by Dean Neale in the reign of James I.³

Mary soon followed. With 'Calais on her heart' she was borne from St. James's Palace to Henry VII.'s Chapel, and thus became the first occupant of the north aisle, here as in St. Edward's Chapel, the favoured side. Bishop White preached on the text 'A living dog is better than a dead lion.' Heath, Archbishop of York, closed the service. The black cloth in which the Abbey was draped was torn down by the people before the ceremony⁴ was well over. Her obsequies were, with one exception, the last funeral solemnity of the Roman Church celebrated in the Abbey: that exception was the dirge and requiem ordered by Elizabeth, a few days later, for Charles V., 'Emperor of Rome.'

The grave of Mary bore witness to the change that succeeded on her death. The altars which she had re-erected, or which had survived the devastation of her brother's reign, were destroyed by her sister. The fragments of those which stood in Henry VII.'s Chapel were removed, and carried to 'where Mary was buried, perhaps toward the

Anne of
Cleves, died
July 17,
buried Aug.
4, 1557.

QUEEN
MARY, died
Nov. 17,
buried Dec.
13, 1558.

Obsequies of
Charles V.,
Dec. 24,
1558.

April 16,
1561.

¹ Machyn's *Diary*, Aug. 3, 1557.

² *Excerpta Historica*, 295. The funeral ceremony is given, 303.

³ Neale, ii. 283.—It is marked by initials A. C. A bas-relief, by some supposed to have been intended for it, was found in 1865 packed in the Revestry. It was evidently made for a

Roman Catholic, but probably one of a later date. The tomb seems to have been apparently built on the site of an older tomb—probably of an Abbot. See Chapter VI.

⁴ Machyn's *Diary*, Dec. 13, 1558.

⁵ Stirling's *Cloister Life of Charles V.*, p. 251; Machyn, Dec. 23, 1558.

'making of her monument with those religious stones.'¹ It was, however, forty-five years before the memory of her unhappy reign would allow a word to indicate her sepulchre.

At last the hour of reconciliation came. Queen Elizabeth, the third foundress of the institution, and who clung to it with peculiar affection, had breathed her last on the cushioned floor in Richmond Palace. The body was brought by the Thames to Westminster:

QUEEN
ELIZABETH,
died March
24, buried
April 28,
1603.

The Queen did come by water to Whitehall,
The oars at every stroke did tears let fall.²

With these and other like exaggerations, which, however, indicate the excess of the national mourning, she was laid in the Abbey. 'The City of Westminster was surcharged with multitudes of all sorts of people, in their streets, houses, windows, leads, and gutters, that came to see the obsequy; and when they beheld her statue or picture lying upon the coffin, set forth in royal robes, having a crown upon the head thereof, and a ball and sceptre in either hand, there was such a general sighing, groaning, and weeping, as the like has not been seen or known in the memory of man; neither doth any history mention any people, time, or state, to make like lamentation for the death of their sovereign.'³ In the twelve banners which were carried before her, her descent from the House of York was carefully emblazoned, to the exclusion of the Lancastrian line.⁴ On the oaken covering of the leaden coffin was carefully engraved the double rose with the simple august initials 'E. R., 1603.' Dean Andrews preached the funeral sermon. Raleigh was present as captain of the guard. It was his last public act. She was carried, doubtless by her own desire, to the North Aisle of Henry VII.'s Chapel, to the unmarked grave of her unfortunate predecessor. At the head of the monument raised by her successor over the narrow vault⁵ are to be read two lines full of a far deeper feeling than we should naturally have ascribed to him—'*Regno consortes et urnd, hinc*

¹ Strype's *Annals*, i. pt. i. p. 400; Machyn, April 16, 1561.

² Camden's *Remains*, p. 524. See Chapter VI.

³ Stow, p. 815. The effect was increased by the fact that so many were there in mourning for the plague. (St. John's *Raleigh*, ii. 73.)

⁴ Programme of the funeral, in

the tract called *England's Mourning Garment*, and *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. ii. plate 18, where there is also an engraving of a sketch of it (now in the British Museum) supposed to have been drawn by Camden.

⁵ See Appendix. Compare Washington Irving's *Sketch Book*, p. 221.

'obdormimus Elisabetha et Maria sorores, in spe resurrectionis.' The long war of the English Reformation is closed in those words. In that contracted sepulchre, admitting of none other but those two, the stately coffin of Elizabeth rests on the coffin of Mary. The sisters are at one: the daughter of Catherine of Arragon and the daughter of Anne Boleyn repose in peace at last.

Her own monument is itself a landmark of English history and of the Abbey. There had been a prediction, which the nameless graves of Edward and Mary had thus far justified, that 'no child of Henry VIII. should ever be ^{Tomb of Queen Elizabeth.} buried with any memory.' This 'blind prophecy' it was now determined to frustrate. 'Rather than fail in payment' for 'Queen Elizabeth's tomb, neither the Exchequer nor London 'shall have a penny left.' Considering the little love between the two, its splendour is a tribute to the necessity which compelled the King to recognise the universal feeling of the nation. Disfigured as it is, it represents the great Queen as she was best known to her contemporaries; and of all the monuments, in the Abbey, it was the one for many years the widest known throughout the whole kingdom. Far into the next century, Fuller could still speak of 'the lively draught of it, pictured in 'every London and in most country churches, every parish being 'proud of the shade of her tomb; and no wonder, when each 'loyal subject created a mournful monument for her in his 'heart.'² It is probable that this thought was suggested by one such copy, amongst many, at St. Saviour's, Southwark, with the lines:—

St. Peter's Church at Westminster,
Her sacred body doth inter;
Her glorious soul with angels sings,
Her deeds have patterns been for kings,
Her love in every heart hath room;
This only shadows forth her tomb.³

So ended the Tudor tombs in the Chapel of their Founder. But the Stuarts were not slow in vindicating their right to be

¹ Letter of Viscount Cranbourne to Sir Thomas Lake. (State Papers, 1609.) It was made of white marble and touchstone from the Royal store at Whitehall. Warrant of James I. to Viscount Cranbourne. (Ibid.) The cost, which was not to exceed £600

(ibid.), reached £965, 'besides stone-work.' It was erected by Maximilian Poutram. (MS. in the possession of Baroness North.) For the wax effigy, see Chapter IV.

² *Church History*, book x. § 12.

³ *Londiniana*, i. 243.

considered as Kings of England, by regarding Westminster Abbey as their new Dunfermline or Holyrood. The Scottish dynasty lies side by side with the Welsh. Already there had been laid in the western end of the South Aisle, of which the eastern end was occupied by Margaret Countess of Richmond, another Margaret, far less eminent in character, but claiming her place here as the link between the English and the Scottish thrones. Margaret Lennox, daughter of Margaret Tudor by her second husband, and wife of Stuart Earl of Lennox,¹ after a series of family disasters, died in poverty at what was then the suburban village of Hackney; and was, in consideration of her kinship with no less than twelve sovereigns (as her epitaph records), buried here at the expense of Queen Elizabeth. The monument, 'bargained for' and 'appointed to be made' by herself in her will,² was partly erected by her grandson, James I. Round it kneel her children—Henry Darnley, marked, by the fragments of the crown above his head, as the unfortunate King of Scotland;³ and Charles Stuart, 'father to the Ladie 'Arbell,' who at his mother's request, as stated in her will, was removed from Hackney, where he had been buried, to the vault beneath.⁴

Next to this tomb—by a double proximity, as remarkable as that which has laid Mary Tudor with Elizabeth—is the grave of Mary Stuart. We need not follow her obsequies from Fotheringay Castle to the neighbouring Cathedral of Peterborough. But the first Stuart king of England who raised the monument to his predecessor was not likely to overlook his mother. The letter is still extant, and now hangs above the site of her grave at Peterborough, in which James I. ordered the removal of her body to the spot where he had commanded a memorial of her to be made in the Church of Westminster, 'in the place where the kings and 'queens of this realm are commonly interred,' that the 'like 'honour might be done to the body of his dearest mother, and 'the like monument be extant of her, that had been done to his

¹ For her character, see Froude's History, xi. 72.

² The will is printed in the Darnley Jewel, p. 63. It was made in the year of her death.

³ 'He is here entombed,' says Crull

(p. 95). But he probably remains at Holyrood.

⁴ *Epitaph.* Through the leaden coffin the parched skin could be seen in 1711. (Crull, p. 119.) In 1624 was laid in the same vault his cousin Henry Esme Duke of Lennox. (See Chapter IV. and Appendix.)

'dear sister, the late Queen Elizabeth.'¹ A vault was made in the South Aisle, close to that of the mother of Darnley. In the centre of the north wall of that new vault, hereafter to be thronged by her unfortunate descendants, the leaden coffin was placed.² Over it was raised a monument 'like to that of 'Elizabeth,' but on a grander scale, as if to indicate the superiority of the mother to the predecessor, of the victim to the vanquisher. Her elaborate epitaph is closed by the words from St. Peter,³ recommending the Saviour's example of patient suffering. Her tomb was revered by devout Scots as the shrine of a canonised saint. 'I hear,' says Demster, thirteen years after the removal of the remains from Peterborough, 'that her 'bones, lately translated to the burial-place of the Kings of 'England at Westminster, are resplendent with miracles.'⁴ This probably is the latest instance of a miracle-working tomb in England, and it invests the question of Queen Mary's character with a theological as well as an historical interest.

In the tombs of the two rival Queens, the series of Royal Monuments is brought to an end.⁵ Elizabeth and Mary are the last sovereigns in whom the gratitude of a successor or the affection of a nation have combined to insist on so august a memorial. It may have been the result of the circumstances or the character of the succeeding sovereigns. Charles I. was indifferent to the memory of James I. Charles II. wasted on himself the money which Parliament granted to him for the monument to Charles I. James II., even if he had cared sufficiently, reigned too short a time to erect a monument to his brother. William III. and Mary were not likely to be honoured by Anne, nor Anne by George I., nor George I. by George II., nor George II. by George III. But, in fact, a deeper than any personal feeling was behind. Even in France the practice was dying out. At St. Denys the royal tombs ceased after that of Henri II. Princes were no longer, as they

¹ See Appendix.

² Ibid.

³ 1 Pet. i. 21, 22.

⁴ Demster, *Hist. Ecol. Ant. Scot.* ed. Bannatyne Club, 1829.—It was published at Bologna in 1627, but written before 1626, as the author died in 1625. Communicated by the late Joseph Robertson, of the Register House, Edinburgh.

⁵ This blank appears to have struck Sir Roger de Coverley. 'The glorious

'names of Henry the Fifth and of 'Queen Elizabeth gave the knight 'great opportunities of shining and of 'doing justice to Sir Richard Baker, 'who, as our knight observed with 'some surprise, had a great many 'kings in him, whose monuments he 'had not seen in the Abbey.' (*Spectator*, No. 329.) The context seems to show some confusion between Henry V. and Henry VII.

had been, the only rulers of the nation. With Elizabeth began the tombs of Poets' Corner; with Cromwell a new impetus was given to the tombs of warriors and statesmen; with William III. began the tombs of the leaders of Parliament.¹ Other figures than those of Kings began to occupy the public eye. Yet even as the monarchy, though shrunk, yet continued, so also the graves, though not the monuments, of sovereigns—the tombs, if not of sovereigns, yet of royal personages—still keep up the shadow of the ancient practice.

Two infant children of James I., Mary and Sophia, lie in the north aisle of Henry VII.'s Chapel, under the urn, which, probably from their neighbourhood, Charles II. erected, in what may thus be called the Innocents' Corner, to receive the remains of the two murdered York princes which he brought from the

Princess
Mary, died
Dec. 16,
1607.

Tower.² Of Mary—the first of his children born in England, and therefore the first 'Princess of Great Britain,'—James used 'pleasantly to say,' with his usual mixture of theology and misplaced wit, 'that he would not pray to the Virgin Mary, but would pray for the Virgin Mary.'³ She was, according to her father, 'a most beautiful infant;' and her death, at the age of two years and a half, is described as peculiarly touching. The little creature kept repeating, 'I go, I go'—'Away I go;' and again a third time, 'I go, I go.'⁴ Her coffin was brought in a coach to the Deanery,

Princess
Sophia, 1607,
buried June
23, 1607.

and thence through the cloisters to the Abbey.⁵ In the same year had died Sophia,⁶ *rosula regia præpropere fato decerpta*, who lived but a day. The King 'took her death as a wise prince should, and wished her to be buried 'in Westminster Abbey, as cheaply as possible, without any solemnity or funeral;' 'sleeping in her cradle [the cradle is itself the tomb], wherewith vulgar eyes, especially of the weaker sex, are more affected (as level to their cognisance, more capable of what is pretty than what is pompous) than with all the magnificent monuments in Westminster.'⁷

¹ See Chapter IV.

² The bones of the York Princes were placed in 'Monk's vault,' 1678 (Dart, i. 167), but only till the urn was ready. It was made by Wren. See Appendix.

³ Fuller's *Worthies*, i. 490.

⁴ Green's *Princesses*, ii. 91-95.—Margaret Lennox was chief mourner. (Sandford, p. 537.)

⁵ Dart, i. 167.

⁶ The first Sophia of English history, herself called after her grandmother, Sophia of Denmark, and bequeathing her name to her niece, the Electress of Hanover. (Strickland's *Queens of Scotland*, viii. 286; *Life of Arabella Stuart*, ii. 89.)

⁷ Fuller's *Worthies*, ii. 129. It cost £140. (Lodge's *Illustrations*, iii. 309.)

⁸ Fuller's *Worthies*, i. 490.

Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales, in whose grave were buried the hopes of the Puritan party, was laid in the South Aisle of the Chapel, 'under his grandmother's monument,'¹ in the vault which had been just made for her. He died 'on a day of triumph'² for a former memorable deliverance (Nov. 5), and in the heat of preparation for his sister's marriage. So we are all turned to black, and exceeding much mournfulness.³ His funeral was attended by 2,000 mourners. Nine banners went before, each preceded by 'two trumpeters that sounded wofully.' His effigy was clothed with the richest garments he had, which 'did so lively represent his person, as that it did not only draw tears from the severest beholders, but caused a fearful outcry among the people, as if they felt their own ruin in that loss.'⁴ His friend, Archbishop Abbott, who had attended his last hours, preached the sermon on Psalm lxxxii. 6, 7.⁵ The absence of any special monument for one so deeply lamented, caused much comment at the time. Three years later Arabella Stuart, daughter of Charles Lennox, and cousin of James I., after her troubled life, 'was brought at midnight by the dark river from the Tower,' and laid 'with no solemnity' upon the coffin of Mary Stuart—her coffin without a plate, and so frail, that the skull and bones were seen as far back as the record of visitors extends, visible through its shattered frame. 'To have had a great funeral for one dying out of the King's favour would have reflected on the King's honour.'⁶

Anne of Denmark next followed. She died at Somerset House, called, from her, Denmark House, after making a dying profession of her faith, 'free from Popery.' The King, detained by illness at Newmarket, was unable to be present at her funeral. It was postponed again and again till more than two months from her death. 'There was no money to put the King's servants in mourning.' It was intended to have been three times more costly than

Prince
Henry, died
Nov. 6,
buried Dec.
8, 1612.

Arabella
Stuart,
buried Sept.
27, 1616.

Anne of
Denmark,
died March
2, buried
May 13,
1619.

¹ So the Burial Register.

² State Papers, Nov. 11, 1612.

³ Giles Fletcher, and others in Pet-
tigrew's *Epitaphs*, p. 314.

⁴ 'If wise, amaz'd, depart this holy
grave,
Nor these new ashes ask what name
they have:
The graver in concealing them was
wise,

For whose learns, strait melts in
tears and dies.'

⁵ State Papers, Dec. 19, 1612.

⁶ Birch's *Life of Henry Prince of
Wales*, pp. 363, 522.

⁷ Register; Keepe, p. 105; *Life of
Arabella Stuart*, ii. 246, 298. For the
tomb of Lewis Stuart, Duke of Rich-
mond, see Chapter IV.

Queen Elizabeth's, but the public expectation was disappointed with the general effect. There was a long procession of two hundred and fifty ladies in black—'a drawling dolorous sight—'lagging, tired with the length of the way.' The Dean of Westminster (Tounson) was charged to find 'a convenient place 'for her,' and she was laid—at least she now lies—alone in a spacious vault¹ in the north-easternmost recess of Henry VII.'s Chapel. Archbishop Abbott preached on Psalm cxlvi. 3.²

In five years followed King James himself. Abbott, now so aged as to need a supporter, performed the service. The French ambassadors would be content with no place³ short of parity with the chief mourner, Charles I., even though they had occasionally to walk in the kennel to keep their places. The Venetian ambassador insisted on wearing the same mourning as the French. Not with his predecessor, nor with his mother, nor with his wife, nor with his children, but in the august tomb of Henry VII., founder of the Chapel and of the dynasty through which the Stuarts claimed their throne, was laid the founder of the new race of kings. Edward VI. must for the moment have been disturbed, and Elizabeth of York displaced, to receive the unwieldy coffin. But the entrance was effected, and with his great-grandparents the Scottish King reposes as in a patriarchal sepulchre.⁴ His funeral sermon was preached by Dean Williams, who, with an ingenuity worthy of James himself, compared the dead King in eight particulars to Solomon. His hearse was of unusual splendour, a masterpiece, as it was thought, of Inigo Jones.⁵ A scheme for a monument in the classical style was devised but never executed.⁶

Charles I.'s two infant children were the first to follow. Theirs were the first of that vast crowd of small coffins that thronged their grandmother's vault. One was his eldest-born, Charles, over whose short life the Roman Catholic priests of his mother and the Anglican chaplains of his father fought for the privilege of baptizing him.⁷ The other was the Princess Anne, who, on her

Prince
Charles,
buried May
13, 1629.
Anne, died
Dec. 8, 1640.

¹ Heralds' College and Lord Chamberlain's Office. State Papers, March 27, April 16, 1619. See Appendix.

² The Prince Palatine sate in the Dean's stall; the Lord Chancellor (Bacon) in the scholars' pew. (Harl. MS. 5176.)

³ From Sir J. Finet, the Master of the Ceremonies. (Philoxenus, p. 150.)

⁴ See Appendix.

⁵ See note at end of Chapter IV.

⁶ Walpole's *Anecdotes*, 223.

⁷ Fuller's *Worthies*, i. 490.

deathbed at four years old, 'was not able to say her long 'prayer (meaning the Lord's Prayer), but said she would say 'her short one,—“Lighten mine eyes, Lord, lest I sleep the “sleep of death,” and so the little 'lamb gave up the ghost.'

Two years after the death of this 'little innocent,' the Royal Abbey passed into the hands of the Commonwealth and the Protector. The changes of its constitution will appear as we proceed. But its outward fabric was hardly injured. The Royal Monuments, which cruelly suffered under Henry VIII., received, so far as we know, no harm² under Cromwell; and the Abbey, so far from losing its attractions, drew into it not only, as we shall see,³ the lesser magnates of the Commonwealth, but also the Protector himself. Nothing shows more completely how entirely he regarded himself as the founder of a royal dynasty than his determination that he and his whole family should lie amongst the Kings of England. Already at the time of Essex's funeral, in 1646, the public mind was prepared for his burial in Henry VII.'s Chapel, 'with the immortal turf of Naseby under 'his head.'⁴ Three members of his family were interred there before his death—his sister Jane,⁵ who married General Disbrowe; his venerable mother, Elizabeth Stuart, through whom his descent was traced to the brother of the founder of the Stuarts; and Elizabeth Claypole, his favourite daughter.⁶

THE
COMMON-
WEALTH
AND PRO-
TECTORATE.

Cromwell's
family.

Jane Dis-
browe, died
1658.

Elizabeth
Cromwell,
died Nov.
18, 1654,
aged 96.

Elizabeth
Claypole,
died Aug. 6,
buried Aug.
10, 1658.

OLIVER
CROMWELL,
died Sept. 3,
1658.

'At three o'clock in the afternoon' of the 3rd of September, 'a day of triumph and thanksgivings for 'the memorable victories of Dunbar and Worcester, 'his most serene and renowned highness Oliver Lord 'Protector was taken to his rest.'⁷ The arrangements of the

¹ Fuller's *Worthies*, ii. 108; Sandford, p. 608; Fisher, p. 288.

² Dart speaks of injuries to the Confessor's Shrine; but these must have been chiefly confined to the altar at its west end. (See Chapter VI.)

³ See Chapters IV. and VI.

⁴ Vines's *Sermon on Essex's Funeral*. See Chapter IV.

⁵ Nichols's *Col. Top.* viii. 153. Amongst the family must be reckoned 'Anne Fleetwood,' mentioned in the warrant for disinterment (see Appendix), who may be a daughter of the General Fleetwood, and granddaughter of Cromwell.

⁶ She died at Hampton Court August 6, and was laid in state in the Painted Chamber, and thence was buried on August 10 in a vault made on purpose. Her aunt, the wife of Dr. Wilkins, afterwards Bishop of Chester, was chief mourner. (*Mercurius Politicus*.) She is the 'Betty' of Oliver's earlier letters, 'who belongs to the sect rather of seekers 'than of finders. Happy are they who 'find—most happy are they who 'seek!' (Carlyle's *Cromwell*, i. 295.) See Appendix.

⁷ *Commonwealth Mercury*, Sept. 2-9, 1658.

funeral were left to Mr. Kinnersley, Master of the Wardrobe, who, 'being suspected to be inclined to Popery, recommended 'the solemnities used at the like occasion for Philip the Second, 'who had been represented to be in Purgatory for about two 'months. In the like manner was the body of this great re- 'former laid in Somerset House, the apartment hung with black, 'the daylight excluded, and no other but that of wax tapers 'to be seen. This scene of Purgatory continued till the 1st of 'November, which being the day preceding that commonly 'called "All Souls," he was removed into the great hall of the 'said House, and represented in effigy standing on a bed of 'crimson velvet, covered with a gown of the like coloured 'velvet, a sceptre in his hand, and a crown on his head. . . . 'Four or five hundred candles set in flat shining candlesticks, 'so placed round near the roof of the Hall, that the light they 'gave seemed like the rays of the sun, by all which he was 'represented to be in a state of glory.'¹ The profusion of the ceremony, it is said, so far provoked the people that they threw dirt, in the night, on his escutcheon, placed over the great gate.

At the east end of Henry VII.'s Chapel, a vault had been prepared, which many years afterwards was still called 'Oliver's,' or 'Oliver Cromwell's vault.'² Its massive walls, abutting immediately on the royal vault of Henry VII., are the only addition to the structure of the Abbey dating from the Commonwealth. Here 'the 'last ceremony of honour was paid to the memory of 'him, to whom (so thought his adherents³) posterity will 'pay (when envy is laid asleep by time) more honour than 'they were able to express.' Two Royalists who stood by, and saw the procession pass, have also recorded their feelings.⁴ 'It was,' says Cowley, 'the funeral day of the man late who made 'himself to be called Protector. . . . I found there had been

Burial of
OLIVER
CROMWELL,
Sept. 26; ..
funeral,
Nov. 23,
1658.

¹ Ludlow, pp. 259, 260. I cannot find that Philip II.'s funeral was so conducted. In fact, the Protector's corpse was removed from Whitehall to Somerset House on Sept. 20, and the state show began on Oct. 18. (*Commonwealth Mercury*, Nov. 18-25, 1658.) The expenses were paid by Parliament to Richard Cromwell. The Royalist interpretation was that it was designed to bring Richard in debt, and so ruin him, which in effect it did. The sum expended was £60,000, more

by one-half than ever was used for royal funerals. (Heath's *Chron.*, p. 411; Winstanley's *Worthies*, p. 605; Noble's *Cromwell*, Appendix B.) The hearse was of the same form as, only more stately than, that of James I. (Heath's *Chron.*, p. 413.)

² Register, May 25, 1691; August 29, 1701.

³ *Commonwealth Mercury*, Nov. 23, 1658.

⁴ For the like feelings inside the Abbey, see Chapter VI.

' much more cost bestowed than either the dead man, or even death itself, could deserve. There was a mighty train of black assistants; the hearse was magnificent, the idol crowned; and (not to mention all other ceremonies which are practised at royal interments, and therefore could be by no means omitted here) the vast multitude of spectators made up, as it uses to do, no small part of the spectacle itself. But yet, I know not how, the whole was so managed, that methought it somewhat represented the life of him for whom it was made; much noise, much tumult, much expense, much magnificence, much vain glory: briefly, a great show and yet, after all this, but an ill sight.' 'It was,' says Evelyn, 'the joyfullest funeral that ever I saw, for there were none that cried but dogs, which the soldiers hooted away with as barbarous noise, drinking and taking tobacco in the streets as they went.' It is said that the actual interment, from the state of the corpse, had taken place two months before in private;¹ and this mystery probably fostered the fables which, according to the fancies of the narrators, described the body as thrown into the Thames,² or laid in the field of Naseby,³ or in the coffin of Charles I. at Windsor,⁴ or in the vault of the Claypoles in the parish church of Northampton,⁵ or 'carried away in the tempest the night before.'⁶

The fact, however, of his interment at Westminster is proved beyond doubt by the savage ceremonial which followed the Restoration. Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw were dug up on the eve of the 30th of January, 1661; and on the following day dragged to Tyburn, hanged (with their faces turned towards Whitehall),⁷ decapitated, and buried under the gallows.⁸ The plate found on the breast of the corpse, with the inscription, passed into the possession of the sergeant who took up the body, from whom it descended, through his daughter, Mrs. Giffard, into the hands of the Hobarts, and from them to the present Marquis of Ripon.⁹ The head was planted on the top of Westminster Hall, on one

Disinterment of Cromwell's remains, Jan. 29, 1660-1.

¹ *Elenchus mortuorum*, pt. ii. p. 231.

² Oldmixon's *Stuarts*, i. 426.

³ Barkstead's *Complete History*, iii. 228; *Biog. Brit.* iii. 1573.

⁴ Pepys' *Diary*, Oct. 14, 1664.

⁵ This tradition is based on two gravestones over the Claypole vault at Northampton, one with the letters E. C., supposed to be Elizabeth Claypole; one without inscription, supposed

to be her father. It is disproved by the discovery of her grave in the Abbey. (See Appendix.)

⁶ Heath's *Flagellum*, p. 187.

⁷ Pepys' *Diary*, Jan. 30, 1660-1;

Heath's *Flagellum*, p. 192.

⁸ i.e. near Connaught Square.

⁹ Barkstead, iii. 229; Noble's *Cromwell*; and *Gent. Mag.* May 1867.

side, as Ireton's on the other side, of Bradshaw's, which was set up in the centre,¹ as over the place in which he had passed judgment, 'to be the becoming spectacle of his treason, where, 'on that pinnacle and legal advancement, it is fit to leave 'this ambitious wretch.'²

No mark was left to indicate the spot where Oliver, with his kindred, lay beneath his stately hearse. Nor yet where his favourite daughter still continued to repose, in her separate grave.³

With the Restoration the burials of the legitimate Princes recommenced, in a gloom—it may be added, a privacy—singularly contrasting with the joyous solemnity of the return. Charles I. himself, who had been buried at Windsor, was to have been transported to Henry VII.'s Chapel at Westminster, and reinterred, under a splendid tomb, to be executed by Wren.⁴ 'And many good people thought 'this so necessary, that they were much troubled that it was 'not done.' The 'reasons given were not liked,'—the apprehension of a disturbance, the length of time that had passed, but chiefly the difficulty of finding the grave. Since the discovery of the body at Windsor, in 1813, exactly where it was said to have been interred, we know that this reason was fictitious, and we can hardly avoid the conclusion that the King had appropriated to himself the money (£70,000) granted for this purpose. The Abbey, no doubt, was fortunate to escape the intrusion of what would have been, architecturally, the only thoroughly incongruous of all the regal monuments.⁵

The other members of the House of Stuart followed fast even amidst the rejoicings of the Restoration, to the royal sepulchre, and were all laid in the vault of their ancestress Mary. First came Henry of Oatlands, Duke of Gloucester, the child who said he would be torn in pieces before he should be made King in his elder brother's place. He died of the small-pox,⁶ at Whitehall, 'the 'mirth and entertainments of that time had raised his blood

Henry
Duke of
Gloucester,
died Sept.
13, buried
Sept. 21,
1660.

¹ Pepys' *Diary*, Jan. 5, 1661-2.—They seem then to have been inside the Hall.

² Heath's *Flagellum*, p. 192.—The traditions of the fate of Cromwell's skull are too intricate to be here described.

³ See Chapter IV.

⁴ The plan is in All Souls' College Library.

⁵ Clarendon's *Life*, ii. 15; *History*, vol. iii. pt. i. p. 393; Wood's *Ath. Ox.* ii. 703; Sir Henry Hallford's *Essays*, pp. 157-192.

⁶ Burnet's *Own Time*, i. 172, 292.

'so high.'¹ Nothing ever affected his heartless royal brother so deeply.² Next came Mary of Orange, mother of William III., laid, by her own desire, close to the Duke of Gloucester, 'honourably though privately buried in Henry VII.'s Chapel.'³ She had visited England 'to congratulate the happiness of her brother's miraculous restoration.'⁴ And within the next year, 'after all her sorrows and afflictions,' Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia,⁵ eldest daughter of James I., and mother of the Electress Sophia, who died at Leicester House. 'The night of her burial fell such a storm of hail, thunder, and lightning, as was never seen the like.'⁶ Her son, Prince Rupert, who had usually been brought out as chief mourner to all the lesser royal funerals, followed in 1682,⁷ dying in embarrassed circumstances, and buried without the usual pomp, close to the coffin of his mother.

Mary of Orange, buried Dec. 29, 1660.

Elizabeth of Bohemia, buried Feb. 17, 1661-2. Prince Rupert, died Nov. 26, buried Dec. 6, 1682.

Apart from these, but within the same august Chapel, were laid child after child of the illegitimate progeny of Charles II. Charles Earl of Doncaster,⁸ son of the Duke of Monmouth and of the heiress of the House of Buccleuch; Charles Fitzroy, Duke of Cleveland and Southampton; Charles Fitz-Charles, Earl of Plymouth⁹ (transported here from Tangiers), lie in the vault which had been built for Cromwell.¹⁰ Charles himself, after that last scene of his life, which none can repeat after Macaulay, was 'very obscurely buried at night, without any manner of pomp, and soon forgotten, after all his vanity.' All the great officers broke 'their staves over the grave according to form.'¹¹ A new vault had been made¹² immediately after his death, at the east end of the South Aisle, which, from that time till it was superseded, as we shall see, by the Hanoverian dynasty, was known as 'the

Earl of Doncaster, Feb. 10, 1673-4. Duke of Cleveland, Nov. 3, 1780. Earl of Plymouth, buried Jan. 18, 1680-81.

CHARLES II., died Feb. 6, buried Feb. 14, 1684-5.

¹ Pepys' *Diary*, Sept. 5, 13, 15, 17, and 21 (1660).

² Fuller's *Worthies*, ii. 204.

³ Ashmole apparently was present. (Green's *Princesses*, vi. 331.) Dean Karles preached on Luke ii. 12-14 on Christmas Day. He alluded to the public sorrow. (Evelyn, ii. 161.)

⁴ Fuller's *Worthies*, ii. 117.

⁵ Green's *Princesses*, vi. 84.

⁶ Evelyn, ii. 189.

⁷ Crull, p. 119. (Register.) MS. Heralds' College.

⁸ Register.

⁹ Of the other natural sons of Charles II., the Duke of St. Albans was buried in St. Andrew's Chapel, attracted thither by his wife, Diana de Vere (Register, 1726; see Chapter IV.); and the Duke of Richmond in the Lennox vault. (Ibid.)

¹⁰ Crull, p. 111.

¹¹ Evelyn's *Diary*, iii. 138; Register.

¹² Feb. 8, Heralds' College.

'Royal Vault.'¹ Thus reposes² one of the most popular and the least deserving of monarchs, over whose unmarked grave Rochester's words rise to our minds :—

Here lies our sovereign lord the King,
Whose word no man relies on ;
Who never said a foolish thing,
And never did a wise one.

In the same narrow vault, equally unmarked by any praise or blame, and buried with a plainness arising either from the indifference natural on the accession of a rival House, or from the simplicity of his own character,³ reposes one of the least popular, but by his public acts, one of the most deserving of monarchs—William III. His grave endeared the Abbey to the Nonconformist poet : '—

WILLIAM
III., died
March 8,
buried
April 12,
1702-3.

Preserve, O venerable pile,
Inviolat thy sacred trust,
To thy cold arms the British Isle
Weeping commits her richest dust.

'The remains of James II. had but a short time before been escorted in the dusk of the evening, by a slender retinue, to the Chapel of the English Benedictines at Paris, and deposited there in the vain hope that, at some future time, they would be laid with kingly pomp at Westminster, among the graves of the Plantagenets and Tudors.'⁴ The actual result was still less within the ken of the mourners, that over their ultimate resting-place in the church of St. Germain, a monument should be erected to his memory by a descendant of the dynasty that had taken his throne—'*Regio Cineri Pietas Regia.*' His first wife, Anne Hyde,⁵ daughter of Lord Clarendon, and mother of the two

James II.,
died Sept.
16, 1701,
buried at
Paris, and
removed to
St. Ger-
main.

¹ Archives of the Lord Chamberlain's Office. Communicated by the kindness of Mr. Doyne Bell.

² It is stated in Clarke's *Life of James II.* (ii. 6) that the rites of the Church of England were not used. The account preserved in Herald's College proves that they were. The Scottish Covenanters rejoiced that their oppressor had been buried with the burial of an ass ; but the London housemaids all wore a fragment of black crape. (Macaulay, i. 444.)

³ His coffin plate is distinguished from all the others on the royal coffins

by the extreme brevity of the enumeration of his titles, which are given with the barest initials.

⁴ Watts's *Works*, iv. 490.

⁵ Macaulay, v. 295 ; Clarke's *Life of James II.*, ii. 599-603. The remains, which had been distributed amongst no less than three convents in Paris, were finally collected in 1814, and placed in the parish church of St. Germain-en-Laye, where the present monument was erected by George IV. in 1826. (Pettigrew's *Epitaphs*, pp. 258, 259.)

⁶ Keepe, pp. 106-110.

Stuart Queens, lies in the vault of Mary Queen of Scots, beneath the coffin of Elizabeth of Bohemia, ancestress of the line which was to supplant her father's house.¹ Above and around, in every direction, crushing by the accumulated weight of their small coffins the receptacles of the illustrious dust beneath, lie the numerous children of James II. who died in infancy—six² sons and five daughters—and the eighteen children of Queen Anne, dying in infancy or still-born,³ ending with William Duke of Gloucester, the last hope of the race—thus withered, as it must have seemed, by the doom of Providence.⁴

Anne Hyde,
Duchess of
York, buried
April 5,
1671.

Children of
James II.
and of
Queen Anne.
Duke of
Gloucester,
died July
30, buried
Aug. 9,
1700.

The two last sovereigns of that race close the series of the unfortunate dynasty in the Southern Aisle, over which the figure of their ancestress presides with such tragical solemnity.

MARY II.,
died Dec. 28,
1694.

The funeral of Mary was long remembered as the saddest and most august that Westminster had ever seen.⁵ While the Queen's remains lay in state at Whitehall, the neighbouring streets were filled every day, from sunrise to sunset, by crowds which made all traffic impossible. The two Houses with their maces followed the hearse—the Lords robed in scarlet and ermine, the Commons in long black mantles. No preceding Sovereign had ever been attended to the grave by a Parliament: for, till then, the Parliament had always expired with the Sovereign. . . . The whole Magistracy of the City swelled the procession. The banners of England and France, Scotland and Ireland, were carried by great nobles before the corpse. The pall was borne by the chiefs of the illustrious houses of Howard, Seymour, Grey, and Stanley. On the gorgeous coffin of purple and gold were laid the crown and sceptre of the realm. The day was well suited to such a ceremony. The sky was dark and troubled, and a few ghastly flakes of snow fell on the black plumes of the funeral car. Within the Abbey, nave, choir, and transept were in a blaze with innumerable waxlights. The body was deposited under a sumptuous canopy in the

Her funeral,
March 5,
1694-5.

¹ The last interment in this vault was that of the infant Prince George William, second son of George II., when Prince of Wales, who was carefully embalmed by Dr. Mead, Sir Hans Sloane, and other eminent physicians, and placed there on Feb. 16, 1717. This was probably the occasion when Dart saw the vault (ii. 53). The child was removed to its mother's side on her death in 1737, in George II.'s vault, where it now is.

² Including a natural son, James Darnley, probably the son of Catherine Sedley. See Appendix.

³ Dart, ii, 52, 53. This was called sometimes 'the Royal,' but more often 'the Royal Family Vault,' as distinct from the 'Royal Vault' at the east end. (MS. Heralds' College.)

⁴ Register.

⁵ Macaulay, iv. 534, 535.

centre of the church while the Primate (Tenison) preached.¹ The earlier part of his discourse was deformed by pedantic divisions and subdivisions: but towards the close he told what he had himself seen and heard with a simplicity and earnestness more affecting than the most skilful rhetoric. Through the whole ceremony the distant booming of cannon was heard every minute from the batteries of the Tower.²

A robin redbreast,³ which had taken refuge in the Abbey, was seen constantly on her hearse, and was looked upon with tender affection for its seeming love to the lamented Queen.

QUEEN
ANNE, died
Aug. 1,
buried Aug.
24, 1714.

Prince
George of
Denmark,
died Oct. 28,
buried Nov.
13, 1708.

Anne was buried in the vault beside her sister Mary and her husband Prince George of Denmark. Her unwieldy frame filled a coffin larger even than that of her gigantic spouse.⁴ An inquisitive anti-

quary went to see the vault before it was bricked up.⁵ It was full from side to side, and was then closed, amidst the indignant lamentations of the adherents of the extinct dynasty:

Where Anna rests, with kindred ashes laid,
What funeral honours grace her injur'd shade?
A few faint tapers glimmer'd through the night,
And scanty sable shock'd the loyal sight.
Though millions wail'd her, none compos'd her train,—
Compell'd to grieve, forbidden to complain.⁶

It was not to be expected that George I., as much a foreigner in England as had been the first Norman Princes who lie at

THE
HOUSE OF
HANOVER.

George I.,
died June
11, 1727,
buried at
Hanover.

Caen and Fontevrault, should be buried elsewhere than amongst his ancestors at Hanover. But George

II. and his Queen Caroline are again genuine personages of English History and of the English Abbey.

In the centre of the Chapel of Henry VII., which under the auspices of his great minister had been animated with a new life by the banners of the remodelled Order of the Bath,⁷ were deposited the royal pair. Queen Caroline, the most discriminating patroness of learning and philosophy that

¹ On Eccles. vii. 14. The Dean performed the service.

² Macaulay's account is taken from the Herald's College.

³ Sketch in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries.

⁴ Strickland, xii. 459.

⁵ Thoresby's *Diary*, ii. 252.—The

five coffins are described in the Register for August 24, 1714. The names on the five Royal graves were first inscribed in 1866.

⁶ Samuel Wesley, in Atterbury's *Letters*, ii. 426.

⁷ See Chapter II.

down to that time had ever graced the throne of England—endeared to every reader of the master-works of historical fiction by her appearance in the ‘Heart of Midlothian’—was buried in that newly-opened vault,¹ with the sublime music, then first composed, of Handel’s Anthem—‘When the ear heard her, then it blessed her; and ‘when the eye saw her, it gave witness to her. How are the ‘mighty fallen! She that was great among the nations, and ‘Princess among the provinces.’² Her husband, as a last proof of his attachment, gave directions that his remains and those of his wife should be mingled together. Accordingly, the two coffins were placed in a large black marble sarcophagus inscribed with their joint names, with their sceptres crossed, and one side of each of the wooden coverings withdrawn. In that vast tomb they still repose, and the two planks still lean against the eastern wall.³

Queen
Caroline, of
Anspach,
died Nov. 20,
buried
Dec. 17,
1737.

More than twenty years passed before the King followed. It is probably the last direct royal reminiscence of Edward the Confessor, that in the extravagant eulogies published on George II.’s death, his devotion was compared to that of St. Edward.⁴ His funeral must be left to Horace Walpole to describe:—

GEORGE II.,
died Oct. 25,
1760.

Do you know, I had the curiosity to go to the burying t’other night; I had never seen a royal funeral; nay, I walked as a rag of quality, which I found would be, and so it was, the easiest way of seeing it. It is absolutely a noble sight. The Prince’s Chamber, hung with purple, and a quantity of silver lamps, the coffin under a canopy of purple velvet, and six vast chandeliers of silver on high stands, had a very good effect. The Ambassador from Tripoli and his son were carried to see that chamber. The procession, through a line of foot-guards, every seventh man bearing a torch, the horse-guards lining the outside, their officers with drawn sabres and crape sashes on horseback, the drums muffled, the fifes, bells tolling, and minute-guns—all this was very solemn. But the charm was the entrance of the Abbey, where we were received by the Dean and Chapter in rich robes, the choir and almsmen bearing torches; the whole Abbey so illuminated, that one saw it to greater advantage than by day; the tombs,

His funeral,
Nov. 11,
1760.

¹ There was much confusion at the funeral. (Chapter Book, 1737.) The Psalms were not sung, and the Lesson was omitted. (Precentor’s Book, 1737.)

² *Gent. Mag.* 1737, pp. 763-7.

³ So they were seen at an accidental opening of the vault in 1871.

⁴ Smollett, vi. 372.—For the de-

tails, see *Gent. Mag.* (1760), p. 539. The heart had been previously deposited in the vault (on Sunday, October 9) by the Lord Chamberlain. The procession entered by the north door. The service was read by the Dean of Westminster (Bishop Pearce), though the two Archbishops were present.

long aisles, and fretted roof, all appearing distinctly, and with the happiest *chiaroscuro*. There wanted nothing but incense, and little chapels here and there, with priests saying mass for the repose of the defunct; yet one could not complain of its not being Catholic enough. I had been in dread of being coupled with some boy of ten years old; but the heralds were not very accurate, and I walked with George Grenville, taller and older, to keep me in countenance. When we came to the Chapel of Henry VII., all solemnity and decorum ceased; no order was observed, people sat or stood where they could or would; the yeomen of the guard were crying out for help, oppressed by the immense weight of the coffin; the Bishop read sadly, and blundered in the prayers; the fine chapter, 'Man that is born of a woman,' was chaunted, not read; and the anthem, besides being immeasurably tedious, would have served as well for a nuptial. The real serious part was the figure of the Duke of Cumberland, heightened by a thousand melancholy circumstances. He had a dark-brown adonis, and a cloak of black cloth, with a train of five yards. Attending the funeral of a father could not be pleasant: his leg extremely bad, yet forced to stand upon it near two hours; his face bloated and distorted with his late paralytic stroke, which has affected too one of his eyes, and placed over the mouth of the vault, in which, in all probability, he must himself so soon descend; think how unpleasant a situation! He bore it all with a firm and unaffected countenance. This grave scene was fully contrasted by the burlesque Duke of Newcastle. He fell into a fit of crying the moment he came into the chapel, and flung himself back in a stall, the Archbishop hovering over him with a smelling-bottle; but in two minutes his curiosity got the better of his hypocrisy, and he ran about the chapel with his glass to spy who was or was not there—spying with one hand, and mopping his eyes with the other. Then returned the fear of catching cold; and the Duke of Cumberland, who was sinking with heat, felt himself weighed down, and turning round, found it was the Duke of Newcastle standing upon his train, to avoid the chill of the marble. It was very theatric to look down into the vault, where the coffin lay, attended by mourners with lights. Clavering, the groom of the bedchamber, refused to sit up with the body, and was dismissed by the King's order.¹

Into that vault, as Walpole anticipated, soon descended the sad figure of the Duke of Cumberland, the last apparition of the Prince who, as a little child of four years old, had received in that same chapel his knightly sword,² and who grew up to be the ablest and the fiercest of the family. Frederick Prince of Wales was already there. His wife Augusta followed, after seeing her

William
Augustus,
Duke of
Cumberland,
died Oct. 31,
buried Nov.
10, 1765.
Family of
George II.

¹ Walpole's *Letters*, iv. 361-362.

² See Chapter II.

son, George III., mount the throne. His sisters, Caroline and Amelia,¹ and his younger children, are all in the same vault; ending with Edward Augustus, the Albino Duke of York, who was transported hither in state from Monaco, where he died, and (last of the family) Henry Frederick, Duke of Cumberland, the subject of so much real scandal and fictitious romance. No monument commemorates any of these Princes, and till within the last few years their graves were unmarked by any name.²

Duke of York, died Sept. 17, buried Nov. 3, 1767.

Duke of Cumberland, died Sept. 18, buried Sept. 28, 1790.

It was the close of George III.'s reign that witnessed the final separation of the royal interments from Westminster Abbey. His two youngest children, Alfred and Octavius, had been laid on each side of George II. and Queen Caroline; but their remains were removed to the vault constructed by their father under the Wolsey Chapel at Windsor, where he and his numerous progeny were with a few exceptions interred; thus, by a singular rebound of feeling, restoring to that Chapel the honour of royal sepulture, which had been originally intended for it by its founder, Henry VII. It is an almost exact copy of his grandfather's vault at Westminster—he himself and Queen Charlotte reposing at the east end, and the Princes and Princesses in chambers on each side, leaving the central aisle for sovereigns.³ And, though another mausoleum has arisen within the bounds of the royal domain of Windsor, the renewed splendour of the Chapel which contains the last remains of the House of Hanover well

¹ A touching account of her funeral is given by Carter. (*Gent. Mag.* lxi. pt. ii. p. 942.) Prince George William, who died in 1718, was transferred thither from the Stuart vault.

² The names were added (from the engraving of the vault in Neale) in 1866. George IV., it is said, had the intention of erecting a monument to Frederick Prince of Wales in St. Paul's, 'Westminster being overcrowded.' Letter of W. in the *Times*, April 4, 1832. A contemporary epitaph, somewhat irreverently composed on these Princes, corresponds to this neglect of their graves:

'Here lies Fred,
Who was alive and is dead;
I had much rather
Had it been his father [George II.];
Had it been his brother [the Duke of Cumberland]

Much better than another;
Had it been his sister [Princess Amelia]

No one would have missed her;
Had it been the whole generation
So much better for the nation;
But as it's only Fred,
Who was alive and is dead,
There's no more to be said.'

³ The last removal from the Abbey was that of a stillborn child of the King of Hanover, buried in 1817, and transported to St. George's Chapel on the night of William IV.'s funeral, in 1837. The King of Hanover, the Queen of Wurtemberg, the Princess Elizabeth of Hesse Homburg, were buried in their own vaults in Germany; the Duke of Sussex and the Princess Sophia in Kensal Green, and the Duchess of Gloucester in the south aisle in Windsor.

continues the transition to 'the Father of our Kings to be,'—the coming dynasty of Saxe-Coburg.

This is the close of the history of the Abbey in its connection with the tombs of the Kings and Queens of England. One more royal tomb, however, has been added, which, though not of English lineage, combines so much of European interest, so much of the generosity of the English Church and nation, so much of the best characteristics of the Abbey, as fitly to terminate the whole series.

In the side-chapel on the south of Henry VII.'s tomb is the only modern monument of the Abbey which follows the mediæval style of architecture, and which thus marks the revival of the Gothic taste. It is the recumbent effigy of Antony, Duke of Montpensier, younger brother of Louis Philippe, King of the French. His end took place during his exile in England, at Salthill. Dying as he did in the Church of his fathers, and attended in his obsequies by the solemn funeral rites of that Church, he was received from the Roman Catholic chapel¹ into Westminster Abbey, and laid there, 'at half-past four in the evening,'—first in a vault by the side of a member of the Rochefoucault family, the Marquis de Montandre, who with his wife, the daughter of Ezekiel Spanheim,² was buried beneath the entrance of Henry VII.'s Chapel; and then removed to a new vault, opened for the purpose, on the south-east corner of the Chapel, over which the tomb was afterwards erected by Westmacott. The Latin inscription was written by the old Revolutionary general, Dumouriez,³ then living in exile in England, with a grace and accuracy of diction worthy of the scholarship for which the exiled chief (who had been educated at La Bastie) was renowned; and it records how, after his many vicissitudes, the amiable Prince at last had 'found his repose in this asylum of Kings—*hoc demum in Regum asylo requiescit.*'⁴

ROYAL
EXILES.

Antony,
Duke of
Mont-
pensier, died
May 18,
buried May
26, 1807.

The in-
scription.

¹ From the French Chapel, King Street, Portman Square. The body lay there in state. High mass was performed in the presence of the Duke of Bourbon, and a requiem sung there afterwards. (*Gent. Mag.* 1807, pt. i. p. 584.) The account, which is in some detail, has mistaken the time, making it June 6, at half-past three.

² Appendix to Crull, p. 39.

³ This information I owe to the kindness of H.R.H. the Duke of Aumale.

⁴ In the correspondence on the subject between Dean Vincent and the Government, preserved in the Receiver's Office, the Dean proposes some alterations 'unless the inscription is sacred; that is, so approved by the Duke of Orleans that it may not be touched.' It does not appear whether his suggestions were accepted. In the same correspondence, Louis Philippe, then Duke of Orleans (through his secretary, M. de Brovel) communicates his grati-

He remains apart from that most pathetic of royal cemeteries, the burial-place of the House of Orleans, beside the ancient tower of Dreux. But the Princes of that illustrious race will not grudge to Westminster Abbey this one link, uniting the glories of the insular Protestant sanctuary of England to the continental Catholic glories of France, by that invisible chain of hospitality and charity which stretches across the widest gulf of race, and time, and creed, and country; uniting those whom all the efforts of all the kings and all the ecclesiastics who lie in Westminster or St. Denys have not been able to part asunder.¹ In the corresponding Chapel on the northern side was to have been erected a corresponding monument to the unfortunate heir of the great rival dynasty of the Napoleons. The universal burst of sympathy at his untimely death in the South African war, the close of a great historic race, the stainless character and gallant bearing of the youth, the tragical and romantic incident of the representative of the great Napoleon falling under the British flag, the sense of reparation due for a signal misfortune—all combined to render such a commemoration singularly in accordance with the traditions of the Abbey, which has always embraced within its walls these landmarks of human life and history:—

Sunt lacrymæ rerum, et mentem mortalia tangunt.

A majority of the House of Commons, however, a year after the monument had been proposed and accepted, adopted a resolution declaring it inconsistent with the national character of the Abbey. The proposal to erect the monument was in consequence withdrawn, and by command of the Queen was

tude to 'the Most Reverend the Dean' and the Receiver, for their 'very safe' and humane care, and to 'the venerable prelate' his full approbation of the spot chosen. A difficulty was raised as to whether any one not belonging to the Royal Family could be laid there. The correspondence on this point is doubly curious—first, as showing how rigidly the limitation of the title of 'Royal' to the elder branch of the Bourbons was observed by the English Court; secondly, how little was known of the many non-regal interments in Henry VII.'s Chapel. Even the Dean seems to have been ignorant of the burial of any person of inferior rank, except the Duchess of Richmond and the two Dukes of Buckingham.

There are, in fact, not less than seventy.

¹ In the same vault as the Duke of Montpensier, was interred (with the burial-place marked) Louise ^{Queen} de Savoy, the Queen of Louis XVIII., who died at Savoy, Nov. 26, 1810. Hartwell. Her remains were removed to Sardinia on March 5, 1811 (Burial Register); and at the same time the coffins of two Spanish ambassadors—one, that of Don Pedro Ronquillo (see Evelyn's *Memoirs*, iii. 41), which had lain in the Lennox Chapel since the time of William III. (Crull, p. 107), the other, which had been deposited in the Ormond vault, March 2, 1811—were sent back to Spain.

placed in St. George's Chapel at Windsor. There has been but one precedent for such interference with memorials of the dead in the Abbey—that of the Parliamentary magnates, under pressure of the strong outburst of party feeling that followed the Restoration. Posterity will judge how far the ungenerous spirit which governed the Parliament of 1661 survived, in an altered form, in the Parliament of 1880.

Close beside the tomb¹ of the Duke of Montpensier,¹ by the gracious desire of the Queen, and with the kindly approval of the gifted chief of the Orleans family, have been laid the last remains of one whose name will be ever dear to Westminster,—mourned in France hardly less than in England—followed to her grave by the tears of all ranks, from her Royal Mistress down to her humblest and poorest neighbours, whom she had alike faithfully served,—by the representatives of the various Churches, and of the science and literature, both of England and America, whom she delighted to gather round her,—enshrined in the Abbey which she had so dearly loved, and of which for twelve bright years she had been the glory and the charm.

Lady
Augusta
Stanley,
died March
1, buried
March 9,
1876.

¹ This notice belongs more properly to the following chapter, but its insertion here will be forgiven.

[And there, on Monday, July 25, 1881, was laid to rest her husband, Arthur Penrhyn Stanley (the author of this volume), who had been Dean of Westminster from 1863 to his death in the deanery on July 18, 1881. He was followed by the Prince of Wales, as representative of the Sovereign, by other members of the Royal Family, by representatives of the three Estates of the Realm, of the Cabinet Ministers, the literature, arts, science, and religion of the country, and by a large concourse of the working-men of Westminster—the majority mourning for one who had been their personal friend. The coffin was covered with memorials and expressions of regret from high and low in England, Scotland, France, Germany, and America, and from the members of the Armenian Church. He rests in the same grave with his beloved wife, in the Abbey which he loved so dearly, which he cherished as 'the likeness of the whole English Constitution,' for the care and illustration of which he laboured unceasingly, and with which his name will always be associated.]

Arthur
Penrhyn
Stanley, died
July 18,
buried July
25, 1881.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MONUMENTS.

Oft let me range the gloomy aisles alone,
Sad luxury ! to vulgar minds unknown,
Along the walls where speaking marbles show
What worthies form the hallow'd mould below ;
Proud names, who once the reins of empire held ;
In arms who triumph'd ; or in arts excelled ;
Chiefs grac'd with scars, and prodigal of blood ;
Stern patriots, who for sacred freedom stood ;
Just men, by whom impartial laws were given ;
And saints who taught, and led, the way to heaven.

Tickell's *Lines on the Death of Addison*. (See p. 311.)

Some would imagine that all these monuments were so many monuments of folly. I don't think so ; what useful lessons of morality and sound philosophy do they not exhibit !—'Burke's First Visit to the Abbey' (Prior's *Life of Burke*, i. 39).

SPECIAL AUTHORITIES.

Besides the ample details of Keepe, Crull, Dart, and Neale, there are for the ensuing Chapter the following authorities:—

- I. The earlier Burial Register¹ of the Abbey, contained in one volume folio, from 1606 to 1706.²
- II. The later Burial Registers, from 1706 to the present day, are contained—
(1) in another folio volume, and (2) (from 1711) more fully in six volumes octavo, more properly called the 'Funeral Books.'
- III. MS. Heralds' College.

¹ The first part of this is a compilation of Philip Tynchare, the Precentor who was buried 'near the door of Lord Norris's monument, May 12, 1673.'

² These, as far as the year 1705, are published with notes, in Nichols's *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, vol. vii. 355–57, viii. 1–13, to which are added, in vol. vii. 163–74, the Marriages from 1655 to 1705, and in vol. vii. 243–48, the Baptisms from 1605 to 1655, and 1661 to 1702, from the same source. But these transcripts have been found so full of errors, that a new and corrected version was absolutely needed. Under these circumstances the Dean and Chapter have been fortunate in obtaining the valuable aid of a learned and laborious antiquarian—Colonel Joseph Lenuel Chester, of the United States of America—who has undertaken a complete edition of the whole Register, with references and annotations wherever necessary, with a zeal which must be as gratifying to our country as it is creditable to his own.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MONUMENTS.

OF all the characteristics of Westminster Abbey, that which most endears it to the nation, and gives most force to its name —which has, more than anything else, made it the home of the people of England, and the most venerated fabric of the English Church—is not so much its glory as the seat of the coronations, or as the sepulchre of the kings; not so much its school, or its monastery, or its chapter, or its sanctuary, as the fact that it is the resting-place of famous Englishmen, from every rank and creed, and every form of mind and genius. It is not only Reims Cathedral and St. Denys both in one; but it is also what the Pantheon was intended to be to France, what the Valhalla is to Germany, what Santa Croce is to Italy. It is this aspect which, more than any other, won for it the delightful visits of Addison in the ‘Spectator,’ of Steele in the ‘Tatler,’ of Goldsmith in ‘The Citizen of the World,’ of Charles Lamb in ‘Essays of Elia,’ of Washington Irving in the ‘Sketch Book.’ It is this which inspired the saying of Nelson, ‘Victory or Westminster Abbey!’¹ and which has intertwined it with so many eloquent passages of Macaulay. It is this which gives point to the allusions of recent Nonconforming statesmen least inclined to draw illustrations from ecclesiastical buildings. It is this which gives most promise of vitality to the whole institution. Kings are no longer buried within its walls; even the splendour of pageants has ceased to attract; but the desire to be interred in Westminster Abbey is still as strong as ever.

And yet it is this which has exposed the Abbey to the severest criticism. ‘To clear away the monuments’ has become the ardent wish of not a few of its most ardent admirers.

¹ See Note at end of this Chapter.

The incongruity of their construction, the caprice of their erection, the false taste or false feeling of their inscriptions and their sculptures, have provoked the attacks of each succeeding generation. It will be the object of this Chapter to unravel this conflict of sentiments, to find the clue through this labyrinth of monumental stumblingblocks and stones of offence. Although this branch of the Abbey be a parasitical growth, it has struck its fibres so deep that, if rudely torn out, both perchance will come down together. If sooner or later it must be pruned, we must first well consider the relation of the engrafted mistletoe to the parent tree.

This peculiarity of Westminster Abbey is of comparatively recent origin. No theory of the kind existed when the Confessor procured its first privileges, nor yet when Henry III. planned the burial-place of the Plantagenets. No cemetery in the world had as yet been based on this principle. The great men of Rome were indeed buried along the side of the Appian Way, but they had no exclusive right to it; it was by virtue rather of their family connections than of their individual merit. The appropriation of the Church of Ste. Geneviève at Paris, under the name of the Pantheon, to the ashes of celebrated Frenchmen, was almost confined to the times of the Revolution and to the tombs of Voltaire and Rousseau. The adaptation of the Pantheon at Rome to the reception of the busts of famous Italians dates from the same epoch, and it ceased to be so employed after the restoration of Pius VII. The nearest approach to Westminster Abbey in this aspect is the Church of Santa Croce at Florence. There, as here, the present destination of the building was no part of the original design, but was the result of various converging causes. As the church of one of the two great preaching orders it had a nave large beyond all proportion to its choir. That order being the Franciscan, bound by vows of poverty, the simplicity of the worship preserved the whole space clear from any adventitious ornaments. The popularity of the Franciscans, especially in a convent hallowed by a visit from St. Francis himself, drew to it not only the chief civic festivals, but also the numerous families who gave alms to the friars, and whose connection with their church was, for this reason, in turn encouraged by them. In those graves, piled with the standards and achievements of the noble families of Florence, were successively interred—not because of their

Comparison
to Santa
Croce at
Florence.

eminence, but as members or friends of those families—some of the most illustrious personages of the fifteenth century. Thus it came to pass, as if by accident, that in the vault of the Buonarrotti was laid Michael Angelo; in the vault of the Viviani the preceptor of one of their house, Galileo. From those two burials the church gradually became the recognised shrine of Italian genius.¹

The growth of our English Santa Croce, though different, was analogous. It sprang in the first instance as a natural offshoot from the coronations and interments of the Kings. Result of the Royal Tombs. Had they been buried far away, in some conventual or secluded spot, or had the English nation stood aloof from the English monarchy, it might have been otherwise. The sepulchral chapels built by Henry III. and Henry VII. might have stood alone in their glory: no meaner dust need ever have mingled with the dust of the Plantagenets, Tudors, Stuarts, and Guelphs. The Kings of France rest almost alone at St. Denys. The Kings of Spain, the Emperors of Austria, the Czars of Russia, rest absolutely alone in the vaults of the Escorial, of Vienna, of Moscow, and St. Petersburg. But it has been the peculiar privilege of the Kings of England, that neither in life nor in death have they been parted from their people. As the Council of the nation and the Courts of Law have pressed into the Palace of Westminster, and engirdled the very Throne itself, so the ashes of the great citizens of England have pressed into the sepulchre of the Kings, and surrounded them as with a guard of honour, after their death. On the tomb designed for Maximilian at Innspruck, the Emperor's effigy lies encircled by the mailed figures of ancient chivalry—of Arthur and Clovis, of Rudolph and Cunegunda, of Ferdinand and Isabella. A like thought, but yet nobler, is that which is realised in fact by the structure of Westminster Abbey, as it is by the structure of the English Constitution. We are sometimes inclined bitterly to contrast the placid dignity of our recumbent Kings, with Chatham gesticulating from the Northern Transept, or Pitt from the western door, or Shakspeare leaning on his column in Poets' Corner, or Wolfe expiring by the Chapel of St. John. But, in fact, they are, in their different ways, keeping guard over the shrine of

¹ I owe this account of Santa Croce to the kindness of Signor Bonaini, Keeper of the Archives at Florence.

See also T. A. Trollope's novel of *Giulio Malatesta*, vol. iii.

our monarchy and our laws; and their very incongruity and variety become symbols of the harmonious diversity in unity which pervades our whole commonwealth.

Had the Abbey of St. Denys admitted within its walls the poets and warriors and statesmen of France, the Kings might yet have remained inviolate in their graves. Had the monarchy of France connected itself with the surrounding institutions of Church and State, assuredly it would not have fallen as it did in its imperial isolation. Let us accept the omen for the Abbey of Westminster—let us accept it also for the Throne and State of England.

1. We have now to trace the slow gradual formation of this side of the story of Westminster—a counterpart of the irregular uncertain course of the history of England itself. Reserving for future consideration the graves of those connected with the Convent,¹ it was natural that, in the first instance, the Cloisters, which contained the little monastic cemetery, should also admit the immediate families and retainers of the Court. It was the burial-place of the adjacent Palace of Westminster, just as now the precincts of St. George's Chapel contain the burial-place of the immediate dependants of the Castle of Windsor. The earliest of these humbler intruders, who heads, as it were, the long series of private monuments—was Hugolin, the chamberlain ^{Hugolin.} of the Confessor, buried (with a fitness, perhaps, hardly appreciated at the time) within or hard by the Royal Treasury, which he had kept so well.² Not far off (we know not where) was Geoffrey of Mandeville, with his wife <sup>Geoffrey of
Mandeville.</sup> Adelaide, who followed the Conqueror to Hastings, and who, in return for his burial here, gave to the Abbey the manor of Eye, then a waste morass, which gave its name to the Eye Brook, and under the names of Hyde, Eye-bury (or Ebury), and Neate, contained Hyde Park, Belgravia, and Chelsea.³

We dimly trace a few interments within the Church. Amongst these were Egelric, Bishop of Durham, imprisoned at Westminster, where, by prayer and fasting, he acquired the fame of an anchorite—buried in the Porch <sup>Egelric,
1072. Fulk
de Castro
Novo, 1247.</sup> of St. Nicholas;⁴ Sir Fulk de Castro Novo, cousin of Henry III., and attended to his grave by the King;⁵ Richard

¹ See Chapter V.

² See Chapters I. and V.

³ Widmore, p. 21; *Arch.* xxvi. 23

⁴ See Chapter V.

⁵ Matthew Paris, 724.

of Wendover, Bishop of Rochester, who had the reputation of a saint;¹ Ford, Abbot of Glastonbury;² Trussel, Speaker of the House of Commons in the reigns of Edward II. and Edward III., buried in St. Michael's Chapel;³ Walter Leycester (1391), buried in the North Transept, at the foot of the Great Crucifix.⁴

But the first distinct impulse given to the tombs of famous citizens was from Richard II. It was the result of his passionate attachment to Westminster, combined with his unbounded favouritism. His courtiers and officers were the first magnates not of royal blood who reached the heart of the Abbey. John of Waltham, Bishop of Salisbury, Treasurer, Keeper of the Privy Seal, and Master of the Rolls, was, by the King's orders, buried not only in the church, but in the Chapel of the Confessor, amongst the Kings.⁵ It was not without a general murmur of indignation⁶ that this intrusion was effected; but the disturbance of the mosaic pavement by the brass effigy marks the unusual honour, the pledge of the ever-increasing magnitude of the succession of English statesmen, whose statues from the adjoining transept may claim John of Waltham as their venerable precursor. Other favourites of the same sovereign lie in graves only less distinguished. Sir John Golofre, who was his ambassador in France, was, by the King's express command, transferred from the Grey Friars' Church at Wallingford, where he himself had desired to be buried, and was laid close beneath his master's tomb.⁷ The father-in-law of Golofre,⁸

Richard of
Wendover,
1261. Abbot
Ford, 1261.
Trussel,
1364.

COURTIER
OF RICHARD
II.

John of
Waltham,
1395.

Golofre,
1396.

¹ *Anglia Sacra*, i. 348-350. Weever, p. 338.

² Domesday, 525.

³ In connection both with the House of Commons in the Chapter House, and the interment of eminent commoners in the Abbey, must be mentioned that of William Trussel, Speaker of the House of Commons, in St. Michael's Chapel. (Crull, 290.) Mr. F. S. Haydon has assisted me in the probable identification of this 'Mons. William Trussel,' who was Speaker in 1366 (Rolls of Parl. 1369), with a procurator for Parliament and an escheator south of Trent in 1327. If so, his death was on July 20, 1364. (Frag. p. m. 37 E. III. No. 69.) Foss's *Judges*, iii. 307-309.

⁴ *Will of Walter Leycester*, Serjeant-at-arms, dated at Westminster, September 3, 1391.—To be buried in the

Chapel of St. Mary the Virgin, in the Church of St. Margaret, Westminster — afterwards altered thus in the codicil, April 5, 1391:

'Volo et lego quod corpus meum
'sepeliatur in ecclesia Sancti Petri
'Monasterii Westm' coram magna
'cruce in parte boreali ecclesie ejus-
'dem.' He had a house at Westminster. Amongst his executors was
'Magister Arnold Brokas.'

⁵ Godwin, p. 359.

⁶ Inter reges, multis murmurantibus. (Walsingham, ii. 218.) A like intrusion of one of Richard's favourites into a royal and sacred place occurs in the interment of Archbishop Courtney close to Becket's shrine at Canterbury.

⁷ Dart, ii. 21.

⁸ Crull, App. p. 20.

Sir Bernard Brocas, who was chamberlain to Richard's Queen, and was beheaded on Tower Hill, in consequence of having joined in a conspiracy to reinstate him, lies in Brocas, 1400. the almost regal Chapel of St. Edmund.¹ He was famous for his ancient descent, his Spanish connection (as was supposed) with Brozas near Alcantara, above all, his wars with the Moors, where he won the crest, on which his helmet rests, of the crowned head of a Moor, and which was either the result or the cause of the 'account' to which Sir Roger de Coverley was so 'very attentive,' of 'the lord who cut off the King of 'Morocco's head.'² Close to him rests Robert Waldeby, Waldeby, 1397. the accomplished companion of the Black Prince, then the tutor of Richard himself, and through his influence raised to the sees successively of Aire in Gascony, Dublin, Chichester, and York, who, renowned as at once physician and divine, is in the Abbey the first representative of literature, as Waltham is of statesmanship.

Next come the chiefs of the court and camp of Henry V. One, like John of Waltham, lies in the Confessor's Chapel³—Richard Courtney, Bishop of Norwich, who during his illness at Harfleur was tenderly nursed by the King himself, and died immediately before the battle of Agincourt.⁴ COURTIER OF HENRY V. Courtney, died Sept. 15, 1415. Robsart, 1431. Lewis Robsart, who from his exploits on that great day was made the King's standard-bearer, was a few years afterwards interred in St. Paul's Chapel; and on the same side in the northern aisle, at the entrance of the Chapels of the two St. Johns, were laid under brass Windsor, 1414. Harpedon, 1457. effigies, which can still be faintly traced, Sir John Windsor and Sir John Harpedon.

The fashion slowly grew. Though Edward IV. himself, with his best-beloved companion in arms, lies at Windsor, four of his nobles were brought to Westminster. Humphrey Bourchier, who died at the field of Barnet, was buried in St. Edmund's Chapel. In St. Nicholas's Chapel lie Lord Carew, who died in the same year; and Dudley—who, being the first Dean of Edward's new Chapel of Windsor, was elevated to the see of Durham—uncle of Henry VII.'s notorious financier, and founder of the great COURTIER OF EDWARD IV. Bourchier, 1471. Lord Carew, 1471. Dudley 1483.

¹ See Chapter III.

² *Spectator*, No. 329. An inscription was composed by the family in 1838. See Neale, ii. 156, and Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments*, 1399.

³ On the north side of the Shrine—*'in ipsius ostii ingressu.'* (Godwin, p. 438.)

⁴ Tyler's *Henry V.* ii. 148.

house which bore his name. The first layman in the Chapel of

St. John the Baptist is Sir Thomas Vaughan, treasurer to Edward IV. and chamberlain to Edward V.

Vaughan.

The renewed affection for the Abbey in the person of Henry VII.¹ reflects itself in the tombs of three of his courtiers.

COURTIERS
OF HENRY
VII.
Stanley,
1505.

In the Chapel of St. Nicholas is interred Sir Humphrey Stanley, who with his relatives had in the Battle of Bosworth fought on the victorious side.²

In the Chapel of St. Paul is the King's chamberlain and cousin,

Daubeney,
1507.
Ruthell,
1523.

Sir Charles Daubeney, Lord-Lieutenant of Calais; and in that of St. John the Baptist his favourite secretary Ruthell,³ Bishop of Durham, victim of his

own fatal mistake in sending to his second master, Henry VIII., the inventory of his private wealth, instead of a state-paper on the affairs of the nation.

The statesmen and divines who died under Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Mary, have left hardly any trace in the Abbey. Wolsey had wavered, as it would seem, between Windsor and Westminster. But, whilst the Chapel long called after his name, remains at Windsor, and his sarcophagus has been appropriated to another use at St. Paul's, no indication can be found at the 'West-Monastery' of the tomb which Skelton 'saw a making at a sumptuous cost, more pertaining 'for an Emperor or maxymyous King than for such a man as 'he was, altho' Cardinals will compare with Kings.'⁴ Sir Thomas Clifford, Governor of Berwick, and his wife lie under the pavement of the Choir,⁵ with two or three other persons of obscure name.⁶ Tower Hill, Smithfield, and the ditch beneath the walls of Oxford, in that fierce struggle, contain

¹ A curious record of Henry VII.'s adventures in crossing by the Channel Islands is preserved on Sir Thomas Hardy's monument in the Nave, erected in 1732.

² Hence the burial of other members of the Derby family in this chapel. (Register, 1603, 1620, 1631.)

³ Godwin, p. 755.—He died at Durham Place, in the Strand; hence, perhaps, his burial at Westminster. His tomb seems originally to have been in the centre, and the place which it now occupies was originally the entrance to the Chapel. The present entrance was effected at a later time—probably when Hunsdon's monument was erected—through the little Chapel of St. Erasmus.

⁴ *Merye Tales of Skelton* (ed. Hazlitt, p. 18).

⁵ Dart, ii. 23. Machyn's *Diary*, Nov. 26, 1557.

⁶ 'Master Wentworth,' cofferer to Queen Mary. (Machyn, Oct. 23, 1558).

Master Gennings' (ibid.), servant of Philip and Mary, who left considerable sums to the abbot and monks, and desired to be buried under a brass. Nov. 26, 1557. Diego or Didacus Sanchez, a Spanish noble, was buried in the last year of Mary (1557) in the N. Transept. (These particulars I learn from his will, communicated by Colonel Chester.) Sir Thomas Parry, treasurer of Elizabeth's household, with a monument (1560), is in the Islip Chapel.

ashes more illustrious than any interred in consecrated precincts.

It is characteristic of the middle of the sixteenth century, when the destinies of Europe were woven by the hands of the extraordinary Queens who ruled the fortunes of France, England, and Scotland, and when the royal tombs in the Abbey are occupied by Elizabeth, the two Marys, and the two Margarets,¹ that the more private history of the time should also be traced, more than at any other period, by the sepulchres of illustrious ladies. Frances Grey, Duchess of Suffolk, granddaughter² of Henry VII., by Charles Brandon and Mary Queen of France, and mother of Lady Jane Grey, reposes in the Chapel of St. Edmund, under a stately monument erected by her second husband, Adrian Stokes,³ *Esquire*. 'What!' exclaimed Elizabeth, 'hath she married her horsekeeper?' 'Yes, Madam,' was the reply, 'and she saith that your Majesty would fain do the same;' alluding to Leicester, the Master of the Horse. She lived just long enough to see the betrothal of her daughter, Catherine Grey, to the Earl of Hertford,⁴ and to enjoy the turn of fortune which restored Elizabeth to the throne, and thus allowed her own sepulture beside her royal ancestors.⁵ The service was probably the first celebrated in English in the Abbey since Elizabeth's accession; and it was followed by the Communion Service,⁶ in which the Dean (Dr. Bill) officiated, and Jewel preached the sermon. Could her Puritanical spirit have known the site of her tomb, she would have rejoined in the thought that it was to take the place of St. Edmund's altar, and thus be the first to efface the memory of one of the venerated shrines of the old Catholic saints.

The same lot befell the altar of St. Nicholas, which sank under the still more splendid pile of a still grander patroness of the Reformation—Anne Seymour, descended by the Stanhopes and Bouchiers from Anne, sole heir of Thomas of Woodstock, herself widow of the Protector Somerset, and sister-in-law of Queen Jane Seymour—'a manish or rather a devilish woman, for any imperfectibilities

LADIES OF
THE TUDOR
COURT.

Frances
Grey,
Duchess of
Suffolk,
buried Dec.
5, 1559.

Her tomb.

Anne
Seymour,
Duchess of
Somerset,
1537.

¹ See Chapter III.

² Machyn's *Diary*, Dec. 5, 1559.

³ *Nupta Duci prius est, uxor post Armigeri Stokes. (Epitaph.)*

⁴ Cooper's *Life of Arabella Stuart*, i. 172.

⁵ Compare Edward VI.'s funeral, Chapter III.

⁶ Strype's *Annals*, i. 292.—The monument was not erected till 1563.

'intolerable, but for pride monstrous, exceeding subtle and 'violent.'¹ She lived far into the reign of Elizabeth, and died, at the age of 90, on Easter Day, leaving behind a noble race, which in later days was to transfer the chapel where she lies to another family not less noble, and make it the joint burial-place of the Seymours and the Percys.²

To these we must add one, who, though she herself belongs to the next generation, yet by her title and lineage is connected directly with the earlier period. Not in the royal chapels, but first of any secular grandee in the ecclesiastical Chapel of St.

Frances Howard, Countess of Hertford, 1598. Benedict, is the monument of Frances Howard, sister of the Lord High Admiral who repulsed the Armada, but, by her marriage with the Earl of Hertford,

daughter-in-law of the Duchess of Somerset, from whom we have just parted. Like those other two ladies, she in her tomb destroyed the vestiges of the ancient altar of the chapel, as if the spirit of the Seymours still lived again in each succeeding generation. Both monuments were erected by the Earl of Hertford, son to the one and husband to the other.

Frances Sidney occupies the place of the altar in the Chapel of St. Paul. She claims remembrance as the aunt of Sir Philip Sidney,³ and the wife of Ratcliffe Earl of Sussex, known to all readers of 'Kenilworth' as the rival of Leicester.

Frances Sidney, Countess of Sussex, 1589. Her more splendid monument is the college in Cambridge, called after her double name, Sidney Sussex, which, with her descendants of the Houses of Pembroke, Carnarvon, and Sidney, undertook the restoration of her tomb.

But the reign of Elizabeth also brings with it the first distinct recognition of the Abbey as a Temple of Fame. It was

ELIZABETHAN MAGNATES. the natural consequence of the fact that amongst her favourites so many were heroes and heroines. Their tombs literally verify Gray's description of her court :

Girt with many a baron bold,
Sublime their starry fronts they rear ;

¹ Sir J. Hayward. See *Life of Arabella Stuart*, i. 170.

² The marriage of Charles Seymour (1726), the 'proud Duke' of Somerset, to Elizabeth Percy, caused the interment and monument of her granddaughter, the first Duchess of Northumberland, in St. Nicholas's Chapel; hence the interment of the Percy family

in the same place for the last three generations. Lady Jane Clifford, whose grave and Clifford monument are also here 1629.

(1629), was a great-granddaughter of the Protector Somerset.

³ The porcupines of the Sidneys are conspicuous on her tomb.

And gorgeous dames, and statesmen old
 In bearded majesty, appear.
 What strings symphonious tremble in the air,
 What strains of vocal transport round her play !

Not only does Poets' Corner now leap into new life, but the councillors and warriors, who in the long preceding reigns had dropped in here and there, according to the uncertain light of court-favour, suddenly close round upon us, and the vacant chapels are thronged, as if with the first burst of national life and independence. Now also that life and independence are seen in forms peculiar to the age, when the old traditions of Christendom gave way before that epoch of revolution. The royal monuments, though changed in architectural decoration, still preserved the antique attitude and position, and hardly interfered with the outline of the sacred edifice. But the taste of private individuals at once claimed its new liberty, and opened the way to that extravagant latitude of monumental innovation which prevailed throughout Europe, and in our own day has roused a reaction against the whole sepulchral fame of the Abbey.

The 'gorgeous dames' are for the most part recumbent. But, as we have seen, they have trampled on the ancient altars in their respective chapels. The Duchess of Suffolk still faces the east; but the Duchess of Somerset and the Countess of Hertford, dying thirty and forty years later, lie north and south. Two mural tablets, first of their kind, commemorate in the Chapel of St. Edmund the cousin of Edward VI., Jane Seymour,¹ daughter of the Protector Somerset (erected by her brother, the same Earl of Hertford whom we have twice met already); and the cousin of Elizabeth, Catherine Knollys, sister of Lord Hunsdon, who had attended her aunt, Anne Boleyn, to the scaffold. Then follow, in the same chapel, Sir R. Pecksall, with his two wives, drawn hither by the attraction of the contiguous grave of Sir Bernard Brocas, from whom, through his mother,² he inherited the post of Master of the Buckhounds to the Queen, and through whom the Brocas family were continued. They have risen from their couches, and are on their knees.

Lady Jane
 Seymour,
 1561.

Lady
 Catherine
 Knollys,
 1568. Sir
 R. Pecksall,
 died Oct. 10
 1571.

¹ Intended as the wife of Edward VI.—afterwards friend of Catherine Grey, daughter of the Duchess of Suffolk. (Cooper's *Life of Arabella*

Stuart, i. 185.)

² Neale, ii. 156.—His funeral fees went to buy hangings for the reredos. (Chapter Book, 1571.)

The Russell family, already great with the spoils of monasteries, are hard by. John Baron Russell, second son of the second earl,¹ after a long tour abroad, died at Highgate,² and lies here recumbent, but with his face turned towards the spectator; whilst his daughter, first of all the sepulchral effigies, is seated erect, 'not dead but sleeping,'³ in her osier-chair—the prototype of those easy postures which have so grievously scandalised our more reverential age. The monument to the father⁴ is erected by his widow, the accomplished daughter of Sir Antony Cook, who has commemorated her husband's virtues in Latin, Greek, and English—an ostentation of learning characteristic of the age of Lady Jane Grey, but provoking the censure of the simpler taste of Addison.⁵ The monument to their daughter Elizabeth Russell is erected by her sister Anne. She is a complete child of Westminster. Her mother, in consequence of the plague, was allowed by the Dean (Goodman) to await her delivery in a house within the Precincts.⁶ The infant was christened in the Abbey. The procession started from the Deanery. The Queen, from whom she derived her name, was godmother, but acted by her 'deputy,' the Countess of Warwick, who appeared accordingly in royal state—Lady Burleigh, the child's aunt, carrying the train. The other godmother was Frances Countess of Sussex. These distinguished sponsors drew to the ceremony two of the most notable statesmen of the time, the Earl of Leicester and Sir Philip Sidney, who emerged from the Confessor's Chapel, after the conclusion of the service, with towels and basins. The procession returned, through the Cloisters, to a stately, costly, and delicate banquet within the Precincts. Thus ushered into the Abbey by such a host of worthies, four of whom are themselves interred in it, Elizabeth Russell became maid of honour to her royal godmother, and finally was herself buried within its walls. She died of consumption, a few days after the marriage of her sister Anne at Blackfriars, at which the Queen attended, as represented in the celebrated Sherborne Castle picture.⁷ Such was her real

John Lord
Russell,
1581.

His monu-
ment.

Elizabeth
Russell.

Her christening,
1575.

Her death,
1601.

¹ Wiffin's *House of Russell*, i. 493, 503.

² Lord Russell had a house within the Precincts. (Chapter Book, 1581.)

³ *Dormit, non mortua est* (Epitaph).

⁴ Restored by the Duke of Bedford in 1867.

⁵ *Spectator*, No. 329.

⁶ Lord Russell's letter to the Queen announcing the birth, is dated at Westminster College, October 22, 1575. (Wiffin's *House of Russell*, i. 502.)

⁷ See 'The Visit of Queen Elizabeth to Blackfriars, in 1600,' by George

end. But the form of her monument has bred one of 'the vulgar errors' of Westminster mythology. Her finger pointing to the skull, the emblem of mortality at her feet, had already,¹ within seventy years from her death, led to the legend that she had 'died of the prick of a needle,'² sometimes magnified into a judgment on her for working on Sunday. Sir Roger de Coverley was conducted to 'that martyr to good housewifery.' Upon the interpreter telling him that she was maid of honour to Queen Elizabeth, the knight was very inquisitive into her name and family; and after having regarded her finger for some time, 'I wonder,' says he, 'that Sir Richard Baker has said nothing of her in his chronicle.'³

In the Chapel of St. Nicholas lies Winyfred Brydges, Marchioness of Winchester, who was, by her first husband, Sir R. Sackville, cousin of Anne Boleyn, and mother of Thomas Lord Buckhurst, the poet, and of Lady Dacre, foundress of Emmanuel Hospital, close by the Abbey. Her second husband was the Marquis of Winchester, who boasted that he had prospered through Elizabeth's reign, by having 'the pliancy of the willow rather than the stubbornness of the oak.'

Sir Thomas Bromley (in the Chapel of St. Paul) succeeded Sir Nicholas Bacon as Lord Chancellor, and in that capacity presided at the trial of Mary Queen of Scots, and died immediately afterwards. Sir John Puckering (in the Chapel of St. Nicholas) prosecuted both Mary and the unfortunate Secretary Davison, and succeeded Sir Christopher Hatton as Lord Keeper—his 'lawyer-like and ungenteel' appearance presenting so forcible a contrast to his predecessor, that the Queen could with difficulty overcome her repugnance to his appointment. It was he who defined to Speaker Coke the liberty allowed to the Commons: 'Liberty of speech is granted you; but you must know what privilege you have, not to speak every one what he listeth, or what cometh in his brain to utter; but your

Her monument.

Winyfred
Brydges,
Marchioness
of Win-
chester,
1586.

Sir Thomas
Bromley,
1587.
Sir John
Puckering,
1596.

Scharf, in *Arch. Journal*, xxiii. 131. The picture contains also the portraits of John Lord Russell (p. 218) and of Lady Catherine Knollys (*ibid.*).

¹ Keepe, i. 1680.

² Wiseman, *Chirurgical Treatises*, 1st ed. p. 278, 1676, who argues seri-

ously from it that 'in ill habits of body small wounds are mortal.'

³ *Spectator*, No. 329.—Compare Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World*. 'He told, without blushing, a hundred lies. He talked of a lady who died by pricking her finger.'

' privilege is Aye or No.'¹ To Sir Thomas Owen of Cundover, Justice of the Common Pleas, friend of Sir Nicholas Bacon, a fine effigy, resembling the portrait of him still preserved at Cundover, was erected by his son Roger, in the south aisle of the Choir. The tomb bears the motto, given to him by the Queen, in allusion to his humble origin, '*Memorare novissima*;' and his own quaint epitaph, '*Spes, vermis, et ego.*'

But the most conspicuous monuments of this era are those of Lord Hunsdon and of the Cecils. Henry Cary, Baron Hunsdon, the rough honest chamberlain to Queen Elizabeth, brother of Lady Catherine Knollys, has a place and memorial worthy of his confidential relations with the Queen, who was his first-cousin. Like his two princely kinswomen in the Chapels of St. Edmund and St. Nicholas, his interment was signalised by displacing the altar of the Chapel of St. John the Baptist. The monument was remarkable, even in the last century, as 'most magnificent,'² and is, in fact, the loftiest in the Abbey. It would almost seem as if his son,³ who erected it, laboured to make up to the old statesman for the long-expected honours of the earldom—three times granted, and three times revoked. The Queen at last came to see him, and laid the patent and the robes on his bed. 'Madam,' he answered, 'seeing you counted me not worthy of this honour whilst I was living, I count myself unworthy of it now I am dying.'⁴ He, like Sir R. Sackville, 'belonged,' as Leicester said, 'to the tribe of Dan, and was *Noli me tangere.*'⁵ 'I doubt much, my Harry,' wrote Elizabeth to him after his suppression of the Northern Rebellion, 'whether that the victory given me more joyed me, or that you were by God appointed the instrument of my glory.'⁶ And with the bitterness of a true patriot, as well as a true kinsman, he was at times so affected as to be 'almost senseless, considering the time, the necessity Her Majesty hath of assured friends, the needfulness of good and sound counsel, and the small care it seems she hath of either. Either she is bewitched,' or doomed to destruction.'⁷

¹ Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors*, ii. 175.

² Fuller's *Worthies*, i. 433.

³ Lady Hunsdon was buried with him (1606-7), also the widow of his son (1617-18). (Burial Register.)

⁴ Fuller's *Worthies*, i. 433.

⁵ Aikin's *Elizabeth*, i. 243.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Froude, ix. 557.

Lord Burleigh was attached to Westminster by many ties. He was the intimate friend of the Dean, Gabriel Goodman; and this, combined with his High Stewardship, led to his being called, in play, 'the Dean of Westminster,'¹ and he had in his earlier days lived in the Precincts.² Although he was buried at Stamford, his funeral was celebrated in the Abbey, over the graves of his wife³ and daughter, where already stood the towering monument,⁴ erected to them before his death, in the Chapel of St. Nicholas. It expresses the great grief of his life, which, but for the earnest entreaties of the Queen, would have driven him from his public duties altogether. 'If anyone ask,' says his epitaph, 'who is that aged man, on bended knees, venerable from his hoary hairs, in his robes of state, and with the order of the Garter?'—the answer is, that we see the great minister of Elizabeth, 'his eyes dim with tears for the loss of those who were dearer to him beyond the whole race of womankind.'⁵ It shows the degree of superhuman majesty which he had attained in English history, that 'Sir Roger de Coverley was very well pleased to see the statesman Cecil on his knees.' The collar of St. George marks the special favour by which, to him alone of humble birth, Elizabeth granted the Garter. 'If any ask, who are those noble women, splendidly attired, and who are they at their head and feet?'—the answer is that the one is Mildred, his second wife, daughter of Sir Antony Cook, and sister of the learned lady who wrote the epitaphs of Lord Russell in the adjacent chapel, 'partner of her husband's fortunes, through good and evil, during the reigns of Henry, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth'—'versed in all sacred literature, especially Basil, Chrysostom, and Gregory Nazianzen;' the other 'Anne, his daughter, wedded to the Earl of Oxford;' at her feet, his second son, Robert Cecil, first Earl of Salisbury, and at her head her three daughters, Elizabeth, Bridget, and Susan Vere. But 'neither they,' nor his elder son Thomas, nor 'all his grandsons and granddaughters,' will efface the grief 'with which the old man clings to the sad monument of

The Cecils.
Lord Burleigh, 1598.

His funeral.

Mildred
Cecil, Lady
Burleigh,
1589.

Anne Vere,
Countess of
Oxford,
1588.

¹ Strype's *Memorials of Parker*.

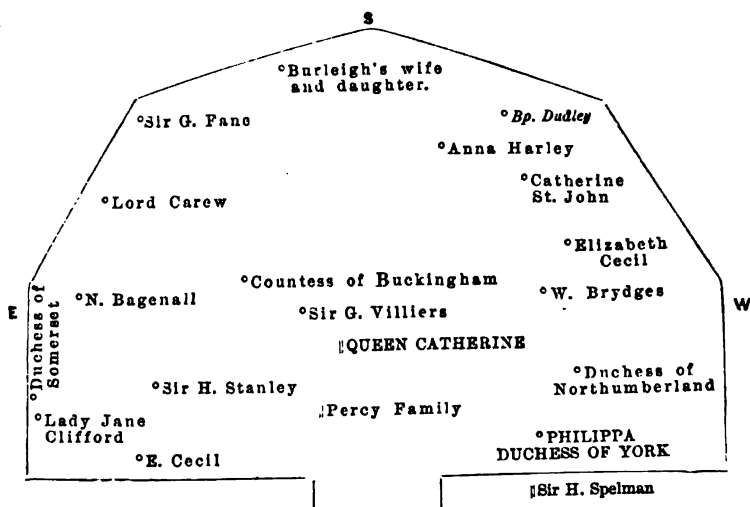
² Chapter Book, 1551.

³ She too had made Dean Goodman one of her chief advisers. (Strype's *Annals*, iii. 2, 127.)

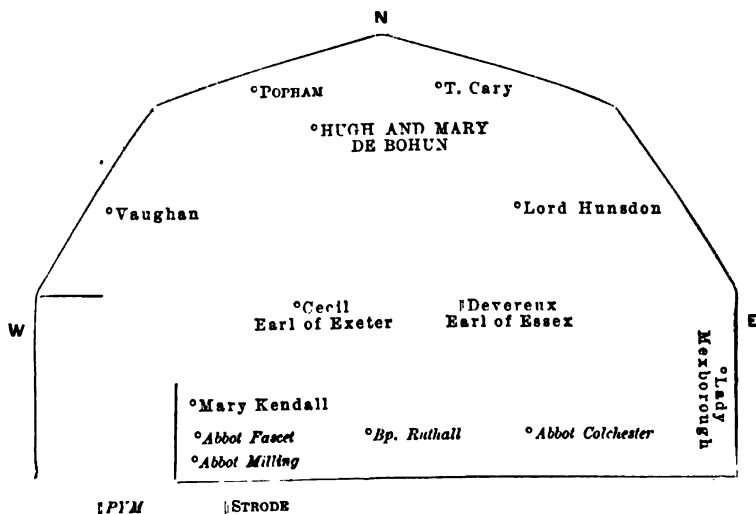
⁴ The monument has been recently

restored by the present Marquis of Salisbury, who is directly descended from this marriage.

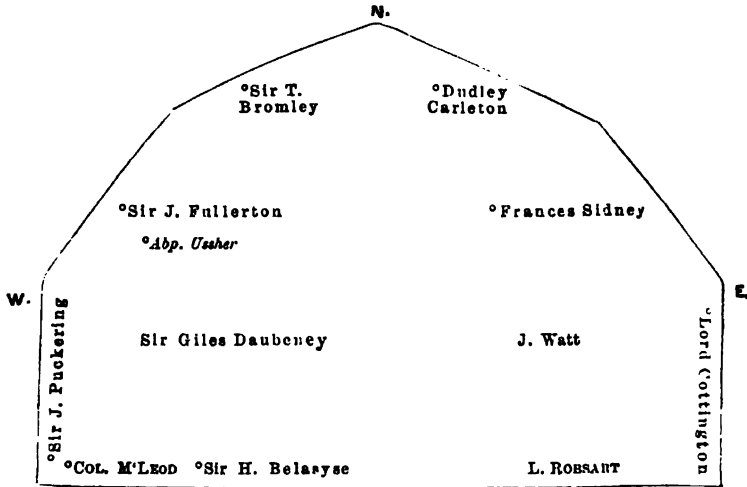
⁵ The inscription is very differently given in Winstanley's *Worthies*, p. 204.



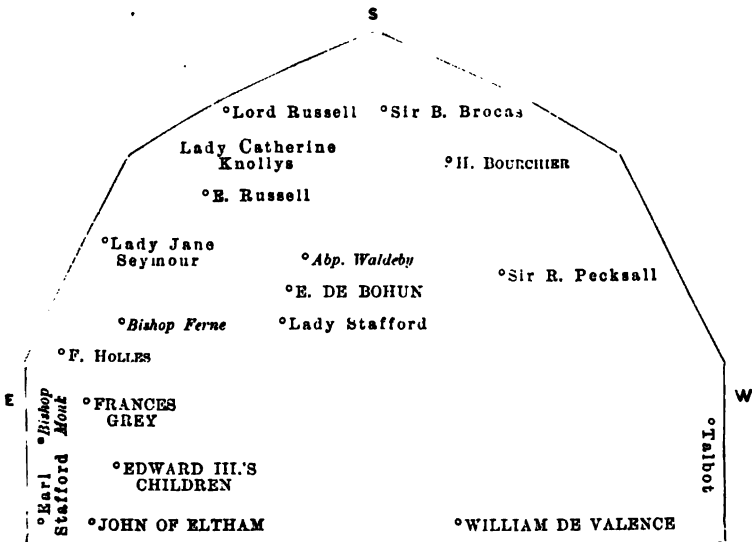
CHAPEL OF ST. NICHOLAS.



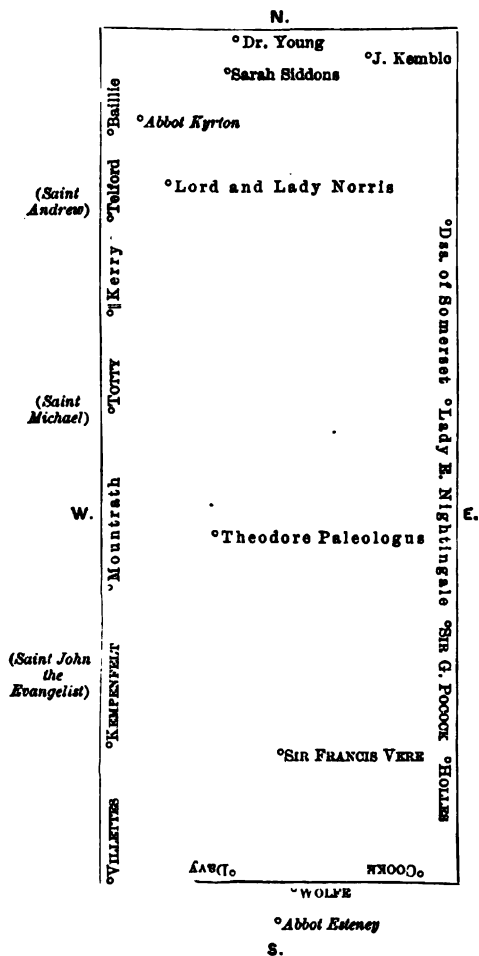
CHAPEL OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST.



CHAPEL OF ST. PAUL.



CHAPEL OF ST. EDMUND.



CHAPELS OF ST. JOHN, ST. MICHAEL, AND ST. ANDREW.

'his lost wife and daughter.' Robert, on whom his father invokes a long life, lies at Hatfield; but his wife Elizabeth has a tomb in this chapel, and also (removed from its place for the monument of the Duchess of Northumberland) his niece Elizabeth, wife of the second Earl of Exeter. The first Earl, Thomas, after a life full of years and honours, lies¹ on the other side of the Abbey, in the Chapel of St. John the Baptist. This tomb was built for himself and his 'two most dear wives'—Dorothy Neville, who was interred there before him, and Frances Brydges, who, living till the Restoration, proudly refused to let her effigy fill the vacancy on the left side, and is buried at Windsor.

Elizabeth
Cecil,
Countess of
Salisbury,
1591.
Elizabeth,
Countess of
Exeter,
May, 1591.
Thomas
Cecil, Earl
of Exeter,
1662,
aged 80.
Dorothy
Neville,
1608.
Frances
Brydges,
1682,
aged 83.

The tombs by this time had occupied all the chief positions in the chapels round the Confessor's shrine. There remained a group of smaller chapels, abutting on the North Transept, hitherto only occupied by the Abbots:² Islip, who built the small chapel in which he lies, and which bears his name; Esteney, who lies in St. John's, and Kirton in St. Andrew's Chapel. But this comparative solitude was now invaded by the sudden demand of the Flemish wars.³ The one unforgotten hero of those now forgotten battles, Sir Philip Sidney, lies under the pavement of St. Paul's Cathedral, the precursor, by a long interval, of Nelson and Wellington. But to Sir Francis Vere, who commanded the forces in the Netherlands, his widow erected a tomb, which she must have copied from the scene⁴ of his exploits—in a direct imitation of the tomb of Engelbert⁵ Count of Nassau, in the church at Breda, where, as here, four kneeling knights support the arms of the dead man who lies underneath. This retention of an older taste has always drawn a tender feeling towards the tomb.⁶ 'Hush! hush! he vill speak presently,' softly whispered Roubiliac to a

Sir Francis
Vere, 1609.

His tomb.

¹ The funeral sermon (in the illness of Archbishop Abbott) was preached by Joseph Hall. (State Papers, March 8, 1623.)

² See Chapter V.

³ This part of the Abbey, during the two next centuries, was known as 'The Tombs.' (Register; and see Fuller's *Church History*, 1621.)

⁴ The following epitaph, not on his tomb, records his end:—

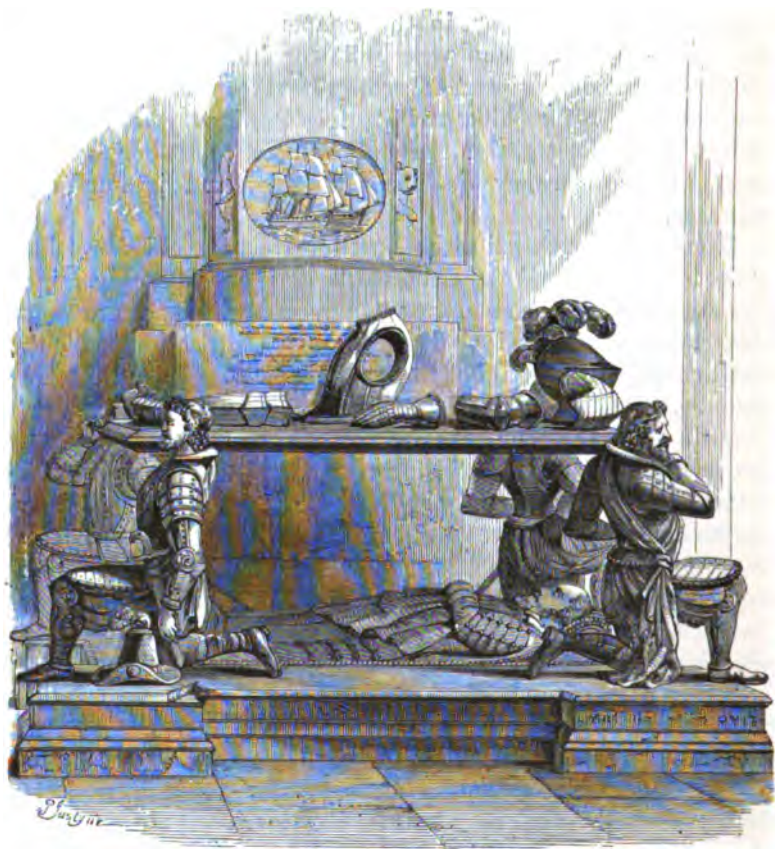
When Vere sought death, arm'd with his sword
and shield,
Death was afraid to meet him in the field;
But when his weapons he had laid aside,
Death, like a coward, struck him, and he died.
(Pettigrew, 158.)

⁵ Compare the arrangement of the tomb of the Emperor Lewis at Munich.

⁶ The tomb was injured by the workmen engaged on Wolfe's monument. (*Gent. Mag.*)

question thrice repeated by one who found him standing with folded arms and eyes riveted on the fourth knight, whose lips seem just opening to address the bystander.¹ By a natural affinity, the tomb of Sir Francis Vere drew after it, a century later, the last of his descendants into the same vault—Aubrey de Vere, the last Earl of Oxford, and

The Veres
and Beau-
clercs, 1702.



MONUMENT TO SIR FRANCIS VERE.

afterwards the Beauclerk family, through the marriage of the Duke of St. Albans with his daughter and heiress, Diana de Vere.² Close beside is Sir George Holles, his kinsman and comrade in arms—on a monument as far removed

Sir George
Holles, 1626.

¹ Cunningham's *Handbook*, p. 42. This same story is told of the figure on the N.W. corner of the Norris tomb (*Life of Nollekens*, ii. p. 86.)

² See Chapter III.

from mediæval times as that of Sir Francis Vere draws near to them. The tall statue stands, not, like that of Vere, modestly apart from the wall, but on the site of the altar once dedicated to the Confessor's favourite saint—the first in the Abbey that stands erect; the first that wears, not the costume of the time, but that of a Roman general; the first monument which, in its sculpture, reproduces the events in which the hero was engaged—the Battle of Nieuport. He, like Vere, attracted to the spot his later descendants; and for the sake of the neighbourhood of his own and his wife's ancestors a hundred years later, rose the gigantic monument of John Holles, Duke of Newcastle,¹ who lies at the feet of his illustrious namesake.² Deeper yet into these chapels the Flemish trophies penetrate. Against the wall, which must have held the altar of the Chapel of St. Andrew, is the mural tablet of John de Burgh, ^{De Burgh,} who fell in boarding a Spanish ship; and in front of ^{1594.} it rises a monument, if less beautiful than that of Vere, yet of more stirring interest, and equally connected with the wars in that old 'cockpit of Europe.' We have seen that on the other side of the Abbey was interred Catherine Knollys, the faithful attendant of Anne Boleyn. We now come to a continuation of the same mark of respect on the part of Elizabeth—not often shown, it is said—for those who had been steadfast to her mother's cause, and, curiously enough, to a house with which the family of Knollys was in constant strife. Sir Francis Knollys, the husband of Catherine Carey, and Treasurer of the Queen's Household,³ perhaps from their neighbourhood in Oxfordshire, was a deadly rival to Henry Norris. ^{The Norris} 'Queen Elizabeth loved the Knollyses for themselves; family.
' the Norrises for themselves and herself. The Norrises got
' more honour abroad; the Knollyses more profit at home, con-
' tinuing constantly at court; and no wonder, if they were the
' warmest who sate next the fire.' Henry Norris was the son of that unhappy man who, alone of all those who perished

¹ Dart, ii. 2.

² Another Holles—Francis, son of the Earl of Clare, who died at the age of Francis eighteen, on his return from Holles, 1622. the Flemish war a few years later—sits, like his namesake, in Roman costume in St. Edmund's Chapel, 'a figure of most antique simplicity and 'beauty.' (Horace Walpole.) His pedestal was copied from that on which, in a similar attitude, close by, sits Elizabeth

Russell (see p. 184). The like sentiment of a premature death probably caused this twin-like companionship. The close of his epitaph deserves notice:

Man's life is measured by his work, not days,
No aged sloth, but active youth, hath praise.

For the Holles monuments the sculptor, Stone, received respectively £100 and £50 from Lord Clare. (Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, ii. 59.)

³ *Biog. Britannica*.

on the scaffold with Anne Boleyn, denied or was silent as to her guilt. Elizabeth, it is believed, expressed her gratitude for the chivalry of the father by her favour to the son. He was further endeared to her by the affection she had for his wife, Margaret, daughter of Lord William of Thame, whom, from her swarthy complexion, the Queen called 'her own Henry Lord Norris,
1608.

Norris inherited Rycote in Oxfordshire, where, according to his expressed intention, the local tradition maintains that he is buried.² The monument in the Abbey, however, is a tribute, 'by their kindred, not only to himself, but 'to the noble acts, the valour, and high worth of that right 'valiant and warlike progeny of his—a brood of martial- 'spirited men, as the Netherlands, Portugal, Little Bretagne, 'and Ireland can testify.'³ William, John, Thomas, Henry, Maximilian, and Edward, are all represented on the tomb, probably actual likenesses. All, except John⁴ and Edward, fell

John Norris,
1698.

in battle. John died of vexation at losing the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland, and the Queen, to whose hardness he owed his neglect, repaired the wrong too late, by one of those stately letters, which she only could write, consoling 'my own crow' for the loss of her son.⁵ 'Though nothing 'more consolatory and pathetic could be written from a 'Prince, yet the death of the son went so near the heart of the 'Earl, his ancient father, that he died soon after.' Edward

Edward
Norris, 1604.

alone survived his father and brothers; and, accordingly, he alone is represented, not, as the others, in an attitude of prayer, but looking cheerfully upwards. 'They 'were men of haughty courage, and of great experience in the 'conduct of military affairs; and, to speak in the character 'of their merit, they were persons of such renown and worth, 'as future time must, out of duty, owe them the debt of honourable memory.'⁶ That honourable memory has long ago perished from the minds of men; but still, as preserved in this monument,⁷ it well closes the glories of the Elizabethan court and camp in the Abbey.⁸

¹ Fuller's *Worthies*, iii. 16, 17. But rather from the Norris crest, a raven.

² Dart, ii. 7.—Neale (ii. 198) says that he was interred here. His daughter and sole heiress, Elizabeth, is buried in St. Nicholas's Chapel. (Register, November 28, 1645.)

³ Camden, in Neale, ii. 195.

⁴ See Froude, xi. 108, 128, 184.

⁵ Fuller's *Worthies*, iii. 8, who gives the letter.

⁶ Camden, in Neale, ii. 199.

⁷ From this monument the Chapel was called, in the next century (see Register, Aug. 16, 1722; Aug. 8, Oct. 24, 1725), 'Norris's Chapel;' as now, for a like reason, the 'Nightingale 'Chapel.'

⁸ Here also lie Sir John Burrough,

One other monument of the wars of those times, though of a comparatively unknown warrior, and located in what must then have been an obscure and solitary place in the South Aisle of the Choir, carries us to a wider field. 'To the glory of the Lord of Hosts,' here resteth Sir Richard Bingham, Knight, who fought not only in Scotland and Ireland, but in the Isle of Candy under the Venetians, at Cabo Chrio, and the famous Battaile of Lepanto against the Turks; in the civil wars of France; in the Netherlands, and at Smerwich,² where the Romanes and Irish were vanquished.'

Sir Richard
Bingham,
1596, aged
70.

Not far off is the monument of William Thynne, coeval with the rise of the great house of which his brother was the founder; and by his long life covering the whole Tudor dynasty, from the reign of Henry VII., when he travelled over the yet united Europe, through the wars of Henry VIII., when he fought against the Scots at Musselburgh, to the middle of Elizabeth's reign, when he gently fell asleep in the Lord.'

William
Thynne,
died March
13, 1584.

The descent from the Court of Elizabeth to that of James I. is well indicated by the change of interest in the monuments. They are not deficient in a certain grandeur, but it is derived rather from the fame of the families than of the individuals. Such are the monuments of Lady Catherine St. John (once in St. Michael's, now in St. Nicholas's Chapel), of the Fanes, of the Talbots, and of the Hattons, in the Chapels of St. Nicholas, St. Edmund, and St. Erasmus; of Dudley Carleton,³ the ambassador in Spain, in St. Paul's Chapel. He it was who, on his return from Spain, 'found the King at Theobald's, hunting in a very careless and unguarded manner, and upon that, in order to the putting him on a more careful looking to himself, he told the King he must either give over that way of hunting, or stop another hunting that he was engaged in, which was priest-hunting; for he had intelligence

COURT OF
JAMES I.

Lady
Catherine
St. John.
Fanes, 1618;
Talbots,
1617;
Hattons,
1619; Car-
leton, 1631.

Governor of the Netherlands under Lord Essex; and Henry Noel (1596), gentleman pensioner to the Queen, and buried here by her particular directions, for 'his gentile address and skill in music.' (Dart, ii. 7.)

¹ Is it an accidental coincidence, or an indication of Macaulay's exact knowledge, that the Lay of the contemporary

'Battle of Ivry' commences with the like strain? Compare Froude, xi. 237. Vere's motto is also *Deo exercitum*.

² For Bingham's exploits at Smerwich in Dingle Bay, see Froude, xi. 233-235.

³ Stone received for this monument £200. (Walpole's *Anecdotes*, ii. 62.)

' in Spain that . . . Queen Elizabeth was a woman of power, and was always so well attended that all their plots against her failed; but a Prince who was always in woods and forests could be easily overtaken. The advice, however, wrought otherwise than he had intended, for the King continued to hunt, and gave up hunting the priests.' The two greatest men who passed away in James I.'s reign rest far off—Bacon in his own Verulam, Shakspeare in his own Stratford. One inferior to these, yet the last relic of the age of Elizabethan adventure, has left his traces close by. The Gatehouse of Westminster was the prison, St. Margaret's Church the last resting-place, of Sir Walter Raleigh.² A companion of his daring expedition to Fayal rests, without a memorial, in St. Edmund's Chapel—

Lord Hervey, who had greatly distinguished himself at the time of the Spanish Armada, and afterwards in Ireland.³

One stately monument of this epoch is remarkable from its position. In the southern side of the central aisle of Henry VII.'s Chapel was buried Ludovic Stuart, Duke of Richmond and Lennox, cousin to James I. (who had been his one confidential companion in the expedition to Gowrie House), Lord Chamberlain, and Lord High Admiral of Scotland.⁴ The funeral ceremony took place two months after his burial, perhaps from his having died of the 'spotted ague.'⁵ His widow,⁶ who raised the monument, and, with the exception of his brother Esme,⁷ all the Lennox family, were laid beside

Lewis Stuart,
Duke of
Richmond,
died Feb. 16,
1623-4;
buried Feb.
17. Duchess
of Rich-
mond, 1639.
Charles
Lennox, son
of the
Duchess of
Portsmouth,
died May 27,
buried June
7, 1723.

¹ Burnet's *Own Time*, i. 12.

² See Chapter V.

³ Register. The facts from Camden

and Dugdale are communicated by the kindness of Lord Arthur Hervey.

⁴ Epitaph, 2 Sam. iii. 38:—

CHRONOG* AN IGNORATIS: QVIA PRINCEPS ET VIR MAGNVS OBIT HODIE.

The elongated letters are all the Roman numerals. If they are extracted, and placed according to their value, they give (as pointed out to me by Mr. Poole, the master-mason of the Abbey) the date of the year:—

M. DC. VVV. IIIIIII, i.e. 1000 + 600 + 15 + 8 = 1623.

For other like chronograms see Pettigrew's *Epitaphs*, 163, 164.

⁵ State Paper Office, 1624.

⁶ She requested Charles I.'s intervention for the removal of the stone partition of the Chapel 'wherein is a door and corridors, and for the erection of an iron grate in lieu thereof.' The King, 'though ready to do anything that may add to the honour of the duke, was careful not to command anything that may give an injury and blemish to the strength and security

' of that Chapel,' and therefore referred the matter to the Dean and Chapter, and they apparently objected, as the partition still remains. (State Paper Office, 1628.) The tomb has been splendidly restored at the cost of the present representative of the family, the Earl of Darnley.

⁷ He, in 1624, with much pomp, equal to that of the funeral of Anne of Denmark, was buried in the vault of

him, including the natural son of Charles II., to whom his father transferred the name and titles of the great family then just extinct. The heart of Esme, its last lineal descendant, was placed in an urn at the feet of his ancestors, after the Restoration; and in the vault lies the beautiful Duchess of Richmond, widow of the last of the race, ancestress of the Stuarts of Blantyre, whose effigy was, by her own special request, placed close by after her death, 'as well 'done in wax as could be,' 'under crown-glass and none 'other,'¹ in the robes she wore at the coronation of Queen Anne, and with a parrot which had 'lived with her Grace for 'forty years, and survived her only a few days.' The parrot confirms the allusion of Pope to 'the famous Duchess, who 'would

Esme Lennox, 1661.
Duchess of Richmond, buried Oct. 22, 1702.

'Die, and endow a college or a cat.'²

The shadows of the reign of Charles I. rested heavily on the tombs of the next generation. First come those which gather round the great favourite of the two first Stuart reigns—George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, 'Steenie.' 'Never any man in any age, nor, I believe, 'in any country or nation, rose in so short a time to so much 'greatness of honour, fame, and fortune, upon no other advantage or recommendation than the beauty and gracefulness of 'his person.'³ This tragical rise we trace both in the tombs of his parents and of himself. In the Chapel of St. Nicholas lies the Leicestershire squire, Sir George Villiers, with his second wife, Mary Beaumont, to whom, at his own early death, he left the handsome boy, and by whose 'singular 'care and affection the youth was trained in those accomplishments which befitted his natural grace.'⁴ Each of the two stately figures which lie on that tomb, carved by the hand of the famous sculptor, Nicholas Stone,⁵ lives in the pages of Clarendon, as he follows the fortunes of their son. That stiff burly knight,

COURT OF CHARLES I.
The Villiers family.

Sir George Villiers, 1605.

his grandmother, Lady Margaret. (See Chapter III.)

¹ See Note at the end of the Chapter.

² Pope's *Moral Essays*, Epistle iii. 96, with his own note and Wharton's comment (vol. iii. p. 245).

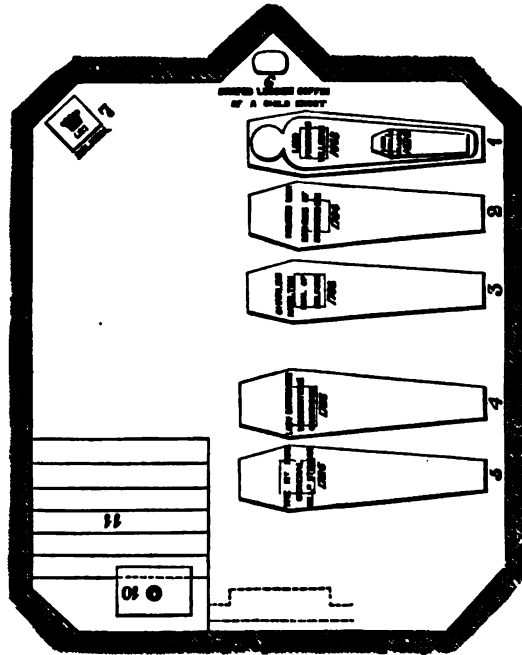
³ Clarendon, i. 16. Westminster witnessed a singular proof of the Court affection and the popular hatred for Villiers. One of his favourites, Sir John Grimes, had a pompous funeral in the Abbey. The butchers of King Street

buried a dog in Tothill Fields in ridicule of the ceremony, saying, 'the soul 'of a dog was as good as that of a Scot.' On that occasion the communion cloth, two copes, and Prince Henry's robes, were stolen from the Abbey. (State Papers, Domestic, James I., vol. lxxxvi. No. 132.) Grimes's grave is unknown.

⁴ Clarendon, i. 17.

⁵ He received £560 for it. Walpole's *Anecdotes*, ii. 61.

in his plated armour and trunk breeches, is 'the man, of a very 'venerable aspect,' who (more than twenty years after his death) drew the bed-curtains of the officer of the King's wardrobe, at midnight, 'and, fixing his eyes upon him, asked



PLAN OF THE BUCKINGHAM (VILLIERS) VAULT IN HENRY VII'S CHAPEL.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>No. 1. is the shaped leaden coffin of Lord Francis Villiers (1648). Under it are two other leaden coffins of the common shape. The wooden cases are wholly absent. Over the legs of these is a small leaden coffin of a child, Lord Charles Villiers (1626).</p> <p>No. 2. Mary, Duchess of Buckingham, (1704).</p> <p>No. 3. Charles Hamilton, Earl of Selkirk (1739).</p> <p>No. 4. Catherine, Countess Grandison, (1725-6).</p> | <p>No. 5. General William Stenart (1726).</p> <p>No. 6. A shaped leaden coffin of a child (no inscription). [Doubtless (from the Register) Philip Feilding, third son to William Earl of Denbigh, buried Jan. 19, 1627-8.]</p> <p>No. 7. A cubical chest, plated with an Earl's coronet and monogram.</p> <p>No. 10. A stone under the floor, removable to enter the vault.</p> <p>No. 11. The steps under the stone.</p> |
|---|---|

'him if he knew him;' and when 'the poor man, half dead 'with fear and apprehension,' having at last 'called to his 'memory the presence of Sir George Villiers, and the very 'clothes he used to wear, in which at that time he seemed to

'be habited,' answered 'that he thought him to be that 'person'—then ensued the warning, thrice repeated, and conveyed with difficulty, to the Duke his son, whose colour changed as he heard it; and he swore that that knowledge could come 'only by the Devil, for that those particulars were known only to 'himself and to one person more, who he was sure would never 'speak of it.'¹ And that lady, with broad full face and flowing ermine mantle, created Countess of Buckingham in her own right, and professing to be 'descended from 'five of the most powerful kings of Europe by so many 'direct descents,'² is the mother towards whom the Duke 'had ever a most profound reverence,'—in whose behalf, when he thought that she had suffered a neglect from Henrietta Maria, he came into the Queen's 'chamber in much passion,' and told her 'she should repent of it,' 'and that there had been 'Queens in England who had lost their heads.'³ She it was who warned the Lord-Keeper (Williams) 'that St. David's (Laud) was the man that did undermine him with her son, 'and would undermine any man, that himself might rise.'⁴ She too it was with whom, after the Duke had received the fatal warning, he 'was shut up for the space of two or three 'hours, the noise of their discourse frequently reaching the 'ears of those who attended in the next rooms: and when the 'Duke left her, his countenance appeared full of trouble, with 'a mixture of anger, never before observed in him, in any conversation with her;' and she, 'at the Duke's leaving her, 'was found overwhelmed in tears, and in the highest agony 'imaginable.'⁵

Within six months she received the news of the Duke's

¹ Clarendon, i. 74, 78.

² Epitaph.

³ Clarendon, i. 63.

⁴ Bacon's *Life*, xvi. 368.

⁵ Clarendon, i. 78, 79.—In her grave were interred two granddaughters and two great-grandsons of the Feilding family. William, Earl of Denbigh, had married her daughter. (Burial Register, 1638, 1640, 1641.) On opening the vault in 1878 there was found on the plate of her coffin the following inscription:—*I. H. S. REPETOR QUISQUIS ES, LAMINA HUIUS LOCULO INFIXA QUAM HOSPITEM LIGNEUS HABEAT PAUCIS TE EDOCTUM VOLO. [Then follows a description of her, resembling her epitaph.] NATA ERAT

IPSIS CALENDIS MAII, SED DIES ILLI MAGIS PROPRIE NATALIS ERAT IDEM QUI SANCTIS DEI, DIE SCILICET IN QUO HAS SUAS TERRENAS SUPERINDUVIAS FELICITER POSUIT, ANNO ÆT: SUÆ LXII.—XIX. APRIL.—FERTI QUINTÂ A.D. MDCXXXII. HAEC A ME. EDOCTUS ABI INSTRUCTIONE ET AVE MARIA DICAS UNUM. It seems to imply the Roman Catholic belief either of the Countess or her survivors, and is curious in connection with Laud. Possibly it even hints at the Abbey falling into the hands of the Roman Catholics. An imperfect copy of this inscription was made in the Burial Register, on opening the vault in 1719.

murder, and 'seemed not in the least degree surprised;' but heard it as if she had foreseen it, 'nor did afterwards express such a degree of sorrow as was expected from such a mother for the loss of such a son.'¹

George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, died Aug. 28, buried Sept. 18, 1628.

But the thrill of that fall, at least in the royal circle, 'the lively regret, such as never Prince had expressed for the loss of a servant,' after his first cold reception of the news had passed away, are well represented in his tomb² in the north side of the central aisle of Henry VII.'s Chapel

His tomb.

—the first intrusion of any person not of royal lineage into that mausoleum of Princes. No higher place could well be given; and though the popular distrust was so strong as to curtail the funeral itself within the smallest possible dimensions,³ the deep sensation in his own circle is shown by the inscription on his coffin, which records how he had been the 'singular favourite of two Kings, and was cut off by a nefarious

His monument, 1633.

'parricide,'⁴ and yet more by the elaborate monument erected by his widow, and completed in 1633. We seem to be present in the Court of Charles as we look at its fantastic ornaments ('Fame even bursting herself, and trumpets to tell the news of his so sudden fall') and its pompous inscriptions, calling each State in Europe severally to attest the several virtues of this 'Enigma of the World.' It corresponds to the blasphemous comparison in which the grave Sir Edward Coke likened him to Our Saviour, and to Clarendon's more measured verdict on that 'ascent so quick, that it seemed rather a flight than a growth;' 'such a darling of fortune, that he was at the top before he was well seen at the bottom: his ambition rather found at last than brought there, as if a garment necessary for that air; no more in his power to be without promotion, and titles, and wealth, than for a healthy man to sit in the sun in the brightest dogdays, and remain without any warmth.'⁵

There is a lesser interest attaching to the tomb, as indi-

¹ Clarendon, i. 79.

² He had already designed the place for his family. His son Charles Marquis Buckingham, Earl of Coventry, was buried March 17, 1626-7, 'in a little chapel on the north side of King Henry VII.'s monument;' and on Jan. 19, 1627-8, his nephew, Philip Feilding, the third son to William Earl of Denbigh, by the Duke's sister. (Register.)

See Appendix. His wife, Lady Catherine Manners, whose effigy lies by his side, is not buried here:

'When Manners' name with Villiers' joined I see,

How do I reverence your nobility.'—(Cowley.)

³ Keepe, p. 101.

⁴ See Appendix.

⁵ Clarendon, i. 61, 62.

cating the ecclesiastical tastes and sentiments of that age. He, the friend of Laud, the pillar of the High Church party, nevertheless from his tomb asserts and reasserts his claim to the name—in our own time by their followers so vehemently repudiated—of ‘Protestant;’ and the allegorical figures are the first wanton intruders into the imagery (now so dear to the school of Laud) which adorns that ancient Chapel.

Within the same vault (if we may thus far anticipate the course of history) repose in two coffins, placed upon and beneath that of the murdered Duke, his two sons, George and Francis, who appear as blooming boys side by side on their father’s monument above, as they do in Vandyke’s famous picture at Windsor. Francis, born after his father’s death, was the first to follow, ‘a youth of rare beauty and comeliness’ of person, who fell at the battle of Kingston, which had been precipitated by his own and his brother’s rashness. His body was ‘brought from thence by water to ‘York Place, in the Strand, and deposited in his father’s vault ‘in the Abbey, with an inscription, which it is pity should ‘be buried with him.’¹ The coffin of Francis, with that of his brother Charles, is placed above his father’s remains. Beneath them lies the last surviving successor in the dukedom, George Villiers, the profligate courtier of Charles II.—the ‘Zimri’ of Dryden, the rival of ‘Peveril of the Peak;’ where Pope’s famous though fictitious description of his miserable deathbed is recalled to us, as on the decayed coffin-plate we dimly trace the record of his George and Garter—‘*Periscelidis eques*.’²

Lord Francis Villiers, died July 7, buried July 10, 1648.

George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham, died April 17, buried June 7, 1687.

Two other magnates of that age rest in the Abbey, who must have regarded the fall of Buckingham with feelings somewhat different from those of Charles and Laud. In the Chapel of St. Benedict, second of the secular monuments which fill its narrow space, and similar to that of Buckingham’s parents, is the tomb of Lord Middlesex, erected to him by his wife, who rests by his side, in ‘the calm haven which he has reached ‘after the stormy voyage of his long life.’³ Lionel Cranfield, ‘though extracted from a gentleman’s family, had been bred ‘in the City, and, being a man of great wit and understanding

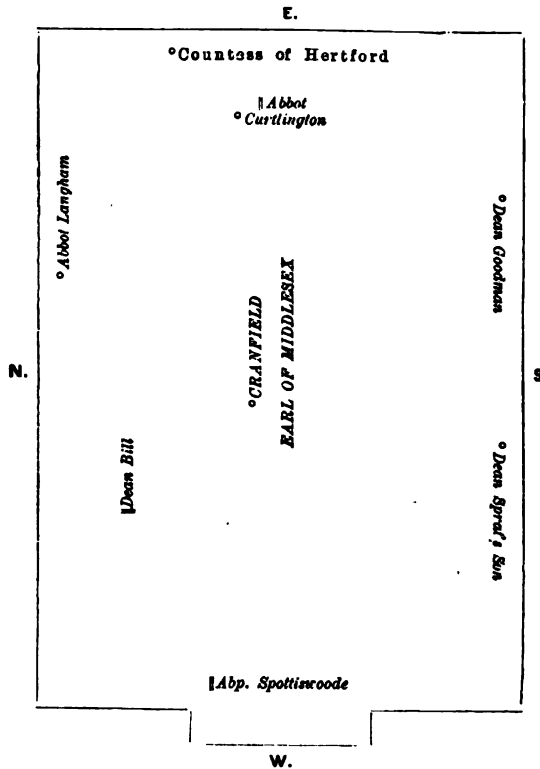
¹ Clarendon, vi. 96.

² Bryan Fairfax’s *Life of the Duke of Buckingham*, p. 24. The inscription which Fairfax gives is almost exactly

the same as that found on the coffin in 1866; and records his extraordinary beauty and his nine wounds.

³ See Appendix.

⁴ Epitaph.



CHAPEL OF ST. BENEDICT.

'in all the mysteries of trade, had found means to work himself into the favour of the Duke of Buckingham ;'¹ and was accordingly, 'with wonderful expedition,' through various lesser offices, raised to the highest financial post of Lord High Treasurer. As by his business-like habits he rose to power, so by them he was led to thwart his patron's extravagance ; and hence the celebrated impeachment by which he fell, and which called forth the prophetic remonstrance of King James, in a scene which must have suggested many a page in the 'Fortunes of Nigel':

'By God, Stenny' [the King said to the Duke in much choler] 'you are a fool, and will shortly repent this folly, and will find that, in this fit of popularity, you are making a rod, with which you will be scourged yourself!' And turning in some anger to the Prince, told him, 'That he would live to have his belly full of Parliament impeachments : and when I shall be dead, you will have too much cause to remember how much you have contributed to the weakening of the crown.'²

On the other side of the Abbey, in St. Paul's Chapel, is Sir Francis (afterwards Lord) Cottington.³ Look at his face, as he lifts himself up on his elbow ; and read Clarendon's description of his interviews with Buckingham, with James I., with Laud, and with Charles II., and think of the quaint caustic humour which he must have diffused through those three strange English reigns, and of the Spanish Court, in which he spent his early youth and his extreme age :—

A very wise man, by the great and long experience he had in business of all kinds ; and by his natural temper, which was not liable to any transport of anger, or any other passion, but could bear contradiction, and even reproach, without being moved, or put out of his way ; for he was very steady in pursuing what he proposed to himself, and had a courage not to be frightened with any opposition. . . . He was of an excellent humour and very easy to live with : and, under a grave countenance, covered the most of mirth, and caused more than any man of the most pleasant disposition. He never used anybody ill, but used many very well for whom he had no regard : his greatest fault was, that he could dissemble, and make men believe that he loved them very well, when he cared not for them. He had not very

¹ Clarendon, i. 39.—He was owner of Knoles, where his portrait still exists.

² Ibid. i. 41.

³ The upper part of the tomb was erected, during his lifetime, to the

memory of his wife (1633), whose bust is the work of Hubert le Sueur. The lower part is by 'the one-eyed Italian' Fanelli.—Calendars of State Papers (Domestic), 1634, Preface, p. xlii.

tender affections, nor bowels apt to yearn at all objects which deserved compassion; he was heartily weary of the world, and no man was more willing to die; which is an argument that he had peace of conscience. He left behind him a greater esteem of his parts than love to his person.¹

When Charles I. wished to employ torture after the death of Buckingham, the answer that it was unlawful was conveyed to him by Sir Thomas Richardson, who was known as the 'jeering Lord Chief Justice.'² When, on one occasion, he came out from being reprimanded by Laud, he declared that 'the lawn-sleeves had almost choked him.' When, on another occasion, he condemned Prynne, he said, 'Let him have the Book of Martyrs to amuse him.'³ He is buried in the north aisle of the Choir, under his monument.

The dragon's teeth which had been sown in the lives of the statesmen on whose graves we have just trodden, bore their natural harvest in the lives of those whose graves we have to tread immediately afterwards. Close by the tomb of his ancestor, Lord Hunsdon, in the Chapel of St. John, is the tablet to Thomas Cary—the one memorial in the Abbey which speaks of the death of Charles I., whose attendant he was, and whose monument represents him as dying a second death fourteen years afterwards, in the year in which the execution of his master took place.⁴

Then comes the period, which, more than any other, indicates the strong hold which the Abbey had laid on the mind of the whole nation; when not even the excess of Puritan zeal, or the sternness of Republican principles, could extinguish in the statesmen of the Commonwealth the longing to be buried in the Royal Monastery.⁵

Pym, the chief of the Parliamentary leaders, was the first. He died at Derby House, close by, in Canon Row, an official residence of members of Parliament. Whilst at Oxford there was a 'great feast, and great preparations made for bonfires that night, for that they

Sir Thos.
Richardson,
1636.

Thomas
Cary, 1634.

THE MAG-
NATES OF
THE COM-
MONWEALTH

Pym, died
Dec. 8,
buried Dec.
15, 1643.

¹ Clarendon, vi. 465, 467. — His body was brought from Valladolid, and, though he died a Roman Catholic, was interred in the Abbey. The epitaph by his son is twice inaccurate. It was not under Charles but James, that his career began in Spain; and he died, not at the age of 74, but at 77.

² See Evelyn's *Memoirs*, ii. 10.

³ See Foss' *Judges*, vi. 359–362.

⁴ This appears by comparing the date of the plate on the coffin (discovered in 1879), with the inflated inscription on the monument.

⁵ Here, as elsewhere, the graves of the men of letters are reserved for the consideration of Poets' Corner.

'heard that Master Pym was dead,' the House of Commons, by a respect hitherto without precedent, ordered that his body should be 'interred in Westminster Abbey, without any charge 'for breaking open the ground there, and a monument be 'prepared for him at the charge of the Commonwealth.' The funeral of 'King Pym,' as he was called, was celebrated, worthily of such a name, with 'wonderful ^{His funeral.} 'pomp and magnificence, in that place where the bones of our 'English kings and princes are committed to their rest.'¹ The body, followed by his two sons, was carried from Derby House on the shoulders of the ten chief gentlemen of the House of Commons, and was accompanied by both Houses of Parliament, and by the Assembly of Divines, then sitting in the Jerusalem Chamber.² He was laid at the entrance of the Chapel of St. John the Baptist, under the gravestone of John Windsor. The funeral sermon was preached by Stephen Marshall, on the words (Micah vii. 1, 2) 'Woe is me! for the 'good man is perished out of the earth.' The grand stickler for Parliamentary usage was buried in a grand Parliamentary fashion :

None can completely Pym lament,
But something like a Parliament,
The public sorrow of a State
Is but a brief commensurate;
We must enacted passions have,
And laws for weeping at his grave.³

Pym's grave became the point of attraction for the next few years. Close beside him was laid Sir William Strode, with him one of the 'Five members,' and 'from his fury' known as 'the Parliament driver.' Within the chapel lies Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, the Parliamentary general. The critical moment of his death, and his position as a possible mediator between the contending parties, gave a peculiar importance to his funeral. It was made by the Independents 'a golden bridge for a departing 'enemy.' The dead heroes of the Abbey were called to greet his approach :

How the ghosts throng to see their great new guest—
Tulbot, Vere, Norris, Williams and the rest !

¹ Clarendon, iv. 436.

² See Chapter VI.

³ *Mercurius Britannicus*, quoted in

Forster's *Statesmen*, ii. 299, from which the above details are taken.

Sir William
Strode.
Robert
Devereux,
Earl of Essex,
buried Oct.
22, 1646.

The sermon was preached by the Presbyterian minister, Dr. Vines, who compared him to Abner. Its title was taken from 'the hearse,' which was unusually splendid, and was placed 'where the Communion Table stood.' But in the night, by some 'rude vindictive fellows who got into the church,' variously suspected to be Cavaliers, or Independents, the head of the effigy was broken, the buff coat which he had worn at Edgehill was slit, the scarlet breeches were cut, the white boots slashed, and the sword taken away.¹ The same rough hands, in passing, defaced the monument of Camden. In consequence the hearse was removed, and, as the peculiar feeling of the moment passed,² there was no fulfilment of the intention of moving the body to a grander situation, in Henry VII.'s Chapel, where (said the preacher) there 'should be such 'a squadron-monument, as will have no brother in England, 'till the time do come (and I wish it may be long first) that 'the renowned and most excellent champion that now governs 'the sword of England shall lay his bones by him.'³

This wish, thus early expressed for Cromwell, was, as we have seen, realised; and to that royal burial-place, as if in preparation, the Parliamentary funerals henceforth converged. In St. John's Chapel,⁴ indeed, with Strode and Essex, was laid the fierce Independent, Edward Popham, distinguished both by sea and land. But in Henry VII.'s Chapel, at the head of Elizabeth's tomb, was magnificently buried the learned Isaac Dorislaus, advocate at the King's trial. Under the Commonwealth he was ambassador at the Hague, where he was assassinated 'one evening, by certain highflying Royalist cut-throats, 'Scotch most of them; a man of heavy, deep-wrinkled, 'elephantine countenance, pressed down with the labours of 'life and law. The good ugly man here found his quietus.'⁵

In the same vault probably which contained the Protector

¹ In Dulwich Gallery there was long possessed a portrait of 'the old man 'who demolished with an axe the 'monument of the Earl of Essex, in 'Westminster Abbey.'

² His grave was in St. John's Chapel, by the right side of the Earl of Exeter's monument (Register), in a vault occupied by an Abbot, whose crozier was still perfect. (*Perfect Relation of Essex's Funeral*.) In 1879, after a long search, the coffin of Essex was discovered as indicated. The fragment of the

crozier was still there. (Camden.) This disposes of the various conjectures in Neale, ii. 185. (See Chapter V.)

³ These particulars are taken from the *Funeral Sermon*, the *Elogy*, the *Programme of the Funeral*, the *Perfect Relation*, and the *Life of Essex*, all published at the time. See also Heath's *Chronicle*, p. 125, who mistakes the position of the hearse.

⁴ Dart, ii. 145; Kennett, p. 537.

⁵ Carlyle's *Cromwell*, i. 311; Kennett's *Register*, p. 536.

Popham,
buried Aug.
1651.

Isaac
Dorislaus,
buried June
14, 1649.

and his family was deposited Ireton, his son-in-law, with an honour the more remarkable, from the circumstance that his death took place at a distance. His body was brought from Limerick, where he had died of the plague in the camp, and lay in state at Somerset House,¹ with the hatchment bearing the motto, *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*, which the Cavaliers interpreted, 'It is good for his country that he should die.'² Evelyn watched the procession pass 'in a very solemn manner.' Cromwell was chief mourner.³ His obsequies were honoured by a sermon from the celebrated Puritan Dean of Christchurch, John Owen, on the 'Labouring Saint's Dismission to rest.'⁴ He must have been no common man to have evoked so grave and pathetic an eulogy: 'The name of God was as land in every storm, in the discovery whereof he had as happy an eye, at the greatest seeming distance, when the clouds were blackest and the waves were highest, as any.'⁵

Next followed Colonel Deane, the companion of Popham and Blake; Colonel Mackworth, one of Cromwell's Council: Sir William Constable, and near to him, General Worsley,⁶ 'Oliver's great and rising favourite,' who had charge of the Speaker's mace when 'that bauble' was taken from the table of the Long Parliament.

After that 'in a vault built for the purpose,'⁷ was laid the first of our naval heroes, whose name has been thought worthy, in the most stirring of our maritime war-songs,⁸ to be placed by the side of Nelson.

Blake [says a great but unwilling witness¹⁰] was the first man that declined the old track, and made it manifest that the science might be

Ireton, died
Nov. 26,
1650; buried
March 6,
1650-1.

Deane, June
24, 1653.
Mackworth,
Dec. 26,
1654. Con-
stable, June
21, 1655.
Worsley,
June 12,
1656.

Blake,
buried 1657.*

¹ Noble, i. 63. — A magniloquent epitaph, printed at the expense of Hugh Peters, was found amongst the papers of a descendant of Ireton's, in which his victories are described as so wonderful, 'ut dixisses Deum pro Iretono militasse, Iretonum pro Deo.' (Crull, Appendix, p. 28.)

² Dart, ii. 143.

³ Evelyn, ii. 48.

⁴ Owen's *Works*, xv. 452.

⁵ Ibid. xv. 458.

⁶ Heath's *Chronicle*, p. 381. *History of Birch Chapel in Manchester Parish*, pp. 39-51, by the Rev. J. Booker. There is no entry of his bu-

rial in the Register. He died in St. James's Palace (Thurloe State Papers, v. p. 122), where, in the Chapel Royal, two of his children were buried.

⁷ Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, p. 128.

⁸ His death is variously reported Aug. 14, 17, 27, but his will was proved Aug. 20. His funeral was arranged on the model of that of Colonel Deane.

⁹ Where Blake and mighty Nelson fell,
Your manly hearts shall glow.

¹⁰ Clarendon, vii. 213, 215-217.

attained in less time than was imagined; and despised those rules which had been long in practice, to keep his ship and his men out of danger; which had been held in former times a point of great ability and circumspection, as if the principal art requisite in the captain of a ship had been to be sure to come home safe again. He was the first man who brought the ships to contemn castles on shore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were discovered by him to make a noise only, and to fright those who could rarely be hurt by them. He was the first that infused that proportion of courage into the seamen, by making them see by experience what mighty things they could do if they were resolved; and taught them to fight in fire as well as upon water; and, though he hath been very well imitated and followed, he was the first that gave the example of that kind of naval courage and bold and resolute achievements.

It was after his last action with the Spaniards—‘which, with ‘all its circumstances, was very wonderful, and will never be ‘forgotten in Spain and the Canaries’—that Blake on his return ‘sickened, and in the very entrance of the fleet into the ‘Sound of Plymouth, expired.’

He wanted no pomp of funeral when he was dead, Cromwell causing him to be brought up by land to London in all the state that could be; and to encourage his officers to venture their lives, that ^{Blake's funeral.} they might be pompously buried, he was, with all the solemnity possible, and at the charge of the public, interred in Harry the Seventh's Chapel, among the monuments of the Kings.¹

This is the first distinct claim of a burial in Westminster Abbey as an incentive to heroic achievements, and it came well through the ruler from whose reign ‘the maritime glory ‘of the Empire may first be traced in a track of continuous ‘light.’²

Four days before Cromwell, died Denis Bond, of the Council, in the beginning of that terrific storm which caused the report that the Devil was coming, and that Cromwell, not being prepared, had given *bond* for his appearance,³ and he was probably interred in Henry VII.'s Chapel.⁴

¹ Clarendon, vii. 215.—His dear friend, General Lambert, rode in the procession from the landing place. (Campbell's *Admirals*, ii. 126.)

² Hallam's *Const. Hist.* ii. 356.

³ To these may be added—from the Register, and from the warrant in Nichols's *Collect.* viii. 153.—(under the Choristers' seats in the Choir) Colonel Boscawen and Colonel Carter

(1645); close to Lord Norris's tomb, Colonel Meldrum (1644); on the north side of the Confessor's Chapel, Humphrey Salwey (December 20, 1652); on its south side, Thomas Haselrig (October 30, 1651); the poet May, and the preachers Twiss, Strong, and Marshall (1646–55). See Chapter III.

⁴ Kennett's *Register*, p. 536.

Last of all came Bradshaw, who died in the short interval of Richard Cromwell's Protectorate, and was interred from the Deanery, which had been assigned to him as Lord-President of the High Court of Justice.¹ He was Bradshaw.
Nov. 2, 1659. laid, doubtless, in the same vault as his wife,² 'in a superb 'tomb amongst the kings.'³ The funeral sermon was preached by his favourite Independent pastor, Rowe, on Isaiah lvii. 1.

All these were disinterred at the Restoration. The fate of Cromwell's remains, which was shared equally by those of Bradshaw and Ireton, we have already seen.⁴ For the rest, the King sent an order to the Dean of Westminster, to take up the bodies of all such persons as had been unwarrantably buried in Henry VII.'s Chapel or the Abbey, since the year 1641, and to bury them in some place in the churchyard adjacent.⁵ The order was carried out two days afterwards. All who were thus designated—in number twenty-one—were exhumed, and reinterred in a pit dug at the back-door of one of the two prebendal houses⁶ in St. Margaret's Churchyard, which then blocked up the north side of the Abbey, between the North Transept and the west end. Isaac Dorislaus—perhaps from compunction at the manner of his death—was laid in a grave somewhat apart.

Seven only of those who had been laid in the Abbey by the rulers of the Commonwealth escaped what Dr. Johnson calls this 'mean revenge.'

Seven exceptions.

Popham was indeed removed, but his body was conveyed to some family burial-place; and his monument, by the intercession of his wife's friends (who had interest at Court), was left in St. John's Chapel, on condition either of erasing the inscription, or turning it inwards.⁷

Popham's monument.

Archbishop Ussher had been buried in state, at Cromwell's express desire, and at the cost of £200, paid by him.⁸ When

¹ Heath, p. 430.

² See Nichols's *Collect.* viii. 153.

³ Evelyn, January 30, 1660-1.

⁴ See Chapter III.

⁵ The warrant is given *verbatim* in Nichols's *Collect.* viii. 153.

⁶ Kennett's *Register*, p. 534.—The houses stood till February 17, 1738-39 (Chapter Book; see Chap. VI.), and are to be seen in an old plan of the Precincts, and in Sandford's plan of the Procession at the Coronation of James II. The back-yard was in what

is now the green between the churchyard and the Abbey. According to Neale (*Hist. of the Puritans*, iv. 319), this 'work drew such a general 'odium on the government, that a 'stop was put to any further proceedings.' The warrant, however, confines the outrage to those who have been named.

⁷ Dart, ii. 145; Crull, p. 140. It would seem from the state of the monument that the inscription was erased.

⁸ Winstanley's *Worthies*, p. 476.—

the corpse approached London, it was met by the carriages of all the persons of rank then in town. The clergy of London and its vicinity attended the hearse from Somerset House to the Abbey, where the concourse of people was so great that a guard of soldiers was rendered necessary. This funeral was the only occasion on which the Liturgical Service was heard within the Abbey during the Commonwealth. The sermon was preached by Dr. Nicolas Bernard (formerly his chaplain, and then preacher at Gray's Inn), on the appropriate text, 'And Samuel died, and 'all Israel were gathered together;'¹ and the body was then deposited in St. Paul's Chapel, next to the monument of Sir James Fullerton,² his only instructor, whose quaint epitaph still attracts attention. The toleration of Cromwell in this instance, was the more remarkable, because, in consequence of the Royalist plots, he had just issued a severe ordinance against all Episcopal ministers. The statesmen of Charles II. allowed the Archbishop to rest by his friend, but erected no memorial to mark the spot.

Elizabeth Claypole escaped the general warrant, probably from her husband's favour with the Court;³ the Earl of Essex, perhaps from his rank; Grace Scot,⁴ wife of the regicide Colonel Scot, perhaps from her obscurity; George Wild, the brother of John Wild, M.P., Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer under the Parliament ('the first judge that hanged a man for treason for adhering to 'his Prince');⁵ and General Worsley.

With this violent extirpation of the illustrious dead the period of the Restoration forces its way into the Abbey. But its traces are not merely destructive.

The funerals of the great chiefs of the Restoration—George Monk, Duke of Albemarle; Edward Montague, Earl of⁶ Sandwich; James Butler, Duke of Ormond—followed the precedent

He erroneously states that Usher was buried in Henry VII.'s Chapel.

¹ Elrington's *Life of Usher*, p. 279.

² Sir James Fullerton was buried near the steps ascending to King Henry VII.'s Chapel, Jan. 3, 1630-31. (Register.)

³ See Chapter III.

⁴ Her touching monument is in the North Transept, 1645-46. Her hus-

band was executed in 1660. She lies close by in the vault of her own family, the Mauleverers. (See Register 1652-53, 1675, 1687, 1689, 1713.)

⁵ He died Jan. 15, and was buried near St. Paul's Chapel door, Jan. 21, 1649-50. (Register.) The inscription can still be read.

⁶ The Earl of Sandwich, in Pepys's *Diary*, as his chief, is always 'My 'lord.' For the programme of his funeral, see Pepys's *Correspondence*, v.

Archbishop
Usher, died
at Reigate,
March 21,
1656-6;
buried April
17, 1656.

Elizabeth
Claypole,
Earl of
Essex,
Grace
Scot, 1645-6.

set by the interment of the Duke of Buckingham in the reign of Charles I., and of the Parliamentary leaders under the Commonwealth. They were all buried amongst the Kings in the Chapel of Henry VII. At the head of Queen Elizabeth's tomb, in a small vault, probably that from which Dorislaus had been ejected, Monk was laid with Montague, 'it being thought 'reasonable that those two great personages should 'not be separated after death.'¹ Monk, who died at his lodgings in Whitehall, lay in state at Somerset House, and then, 'by the King's orders, with all respect imaginable,

THE CHIEFS
OF THE RE-
STORATION.

Monk, Duke
of Albe-
marle, died
Jan. 3,
buried April
29, 1670.
Montague,
Earl of
Sandwich,
July 3, 1672.

1670. A 1. Duke of Albemarle, General
Monk.

A 2. Duchess of Albemarle.

1719. A 3. Joseph Addison.

1720. A 4. James Craggs.

1716. B 1. George Fitzroy, Duke of
Northumberland.

B 2. (The plate is absent.)
Catherine, Duchess of
Northumberland, his first
wife.

1708. C 1. Elizabeth, Lady Stanhope.

1715. C 2. Earl of Halifax.

D 1. (Not examined.)

1743. D 2. Frances, Lady Carteret.

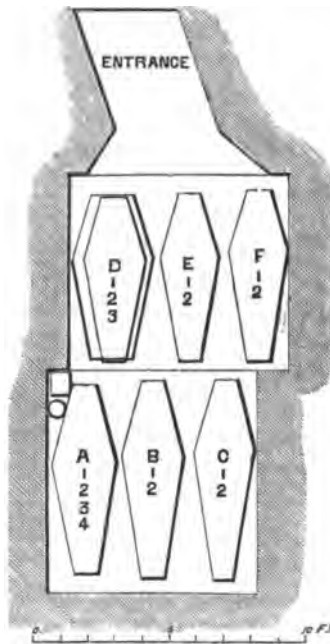
1763. D 3. John, Earl of Granville.

1738. E 1. Mary, second Duchess of
Northumberland.

1744. E 2. Grace, Countess Granville.

1734. F 1. Elizabeth, second Duchess
of Albemarle.

1745. F 2. Sophia, Countess of Gran-
ville.



PLAN OF THE VAULT OF GENERAL MONK, IN THE NORTH AISLE OF
HENRY VII.'S CHAPEL. (Examined Sept. 27, 1867.)

'was brought in a long procession to the Abbey.' The 'last
'person named in the Gazette' as attending was 'Ensign
'Churchill,' who, after a yet more glorious career, was to be

484. Evelyn was present. (*Memoirs*,
ii. 372.)

¹ Crull, p. 107.—In the interval be-
tween Monk's death and funeral his
wife died, and was buried in the same

vault, February 28, 1669-70. 'This
'twain were loving in their lives, and
'in their deaths they were not divided.'
(Ward's *Sermon*, 29.)

laid there himself.¹ Dolben (as Dean) officiated.² The next day a sermon was preached by Bishop Seth Ward, who had 'assisted in his last Christian offices, heard his last words and 'dying groan.'³ Ormond, with his whole race, was deposited

THE
ORMOND
VAULT.

in the more august burial-place at the foot of Henry VII. which had but a few years before held Oliver Cromwell, which then received the offspring of Charles II.'s unlawful passions, and which henceforth became the general receptacle of most of the great nobles who died in London, and who lie there unmarked by any outward memorial. The first

Earl of
Ossory, July
30, 1650.

who was so interred was Ormond's own son, the Earl of Ossory,⁴ over whom he made the famous lament:

'Nothing else in the world could affect me so much; but since 'I could bear the death of my great and good master, King 'Charles I., I can bear anything; and though I am very 'sensible of the loss of such a son as Ossory was, yet I thank

Duchess of
Ormond,
July 24,
1684;
James

Butler, Duke
of Ormond,
Aug. 4, 1683.

'God my case is not quite so deplorable as he who 'condoles with me, for I had much rather have my 'dead son than his living one.' There his wife was buried, on a yet sadder day; and there his own body, 'by long sickness utterly wasted and decayed,'⁵ was laid quite privately, just before the fall of the House of Stuart, which he had so long upheld in vain.

It is highly characteristic of Charles II., who took to himself the grant given him for his father's monument,⁶ that not one of these illustrious persons was honoured by any public memorial.⁷ Sandwich and Ormond still remain undistinguished. Monk, for fifty years, was only commemorated in the Abbey by his effigy in armour (the same that was carried on his hearse) in the south aisle of Henry VII.'s Chapel—a standing testimony of the popular favour, and of the regal weight of the general and statesman on whom, during the calamities of the Great

¹ Campbell's *Admirals*, ii. 272.

² See the whole account in Sandford's *Funeral of Monk*. The Dean and Prebendaries wore copes. Offerings were made at the altar.

³ Ward's *Sermon*, p. 32. 'I saw 'him die erect in his chair, *uti imperatorem decuit*.'

⁴ Keepe, p. 109. His body is said to have been removed to the family vault in Kilkenny Cathedral, but not till after his father's burial. (Ormond's will.) (*Carte's Life of Ormond*, ii.

499.) There is now no trace of this coffin in that vault. When opened in 1864 it contained many bones, but only one leaden coffin, and that of a female. I owe this to the Rev. James Graves of Kilkenny.

⁵ Keepe, ii. 506, 550.

⁶ See Chapter III.

⁷ The banners, pennons, and guidons, of Monk and Sandwich, and other insignia of honour, were hanging over their graves in 1711. (Crull, p. 110.) The names were inscribed in 1867.

Civil War, of the Great Plague, and the Great Fire,¹ the King and nation had leaned for counsel and support. His ducal cap, till almost within our own time, was the favourite receptacle of the fees for the showmen of the tombs, as well as the constant butt of cynical visitors.² At length, in pursuance of the will of his son Christopher, who lies by his side, the present monument was erected by the family, still without the slightest indication of the hero in whose honour it was raised. Charles II. used to say of him, that 'the Duke of Albemarle never overvalued the services of George Monk ;'³ the King himself did not overvalue the services of the Duke of Albemarle.

Much the same fortune has attended the memorials of the inferior luminaries of the Restoration who rest in the Abbey.⁴ Clarendon, its great historian, was brought from his exile at Rouen, and laid in his family vault, but without a stone or name to mark the spot, at the foot of the steps to Henry VII.'s Chapel.⁵ In St. Edmund's Chapel lies Nicholas Monk, 'the honest clergyman' who undertook the journey to Scotland to broach the first design of the Restoration to his brother the General, for whom he had always had 'a brotherly affection,' but who was sent back with such 'infinite reproaches and many oaths, 'that the poor man was glad when he was gone, and never had 'the courage after to undertake the like employment.'⁶ His services, however, were not forgotten, and he was raised to the see of Hereford, and dying immediately afterwards was buried in the Abbey. The Duke, his brother, and all the Bishops followed. Evelyn was present.⁷ But he also was left for sixty years to wait for a monument, which ultimately was erected by his last descendant, Christopher Rawlinson, in 1723. Two other prelates, like him, died immediately after the Restoration.

Monument
of Monk,
1720.

Earl of
Clarendon,
Jan. 4,
1674-5.

Bishop
Nicholas
Monk, Dec.
20, 1661.

¹ 'If the general had been here, the 'city had not been burned.' (Ward's *Sermon*, p. 30.)

² See Note on the Waxworks.

³ Campbell's *Admirals*, ii. 273.

⁴ Thomas Blagg, who defended the Castle of Wallingford, and died November 14, 1660, was buried on the 'north 'side of the church.' Sir Thomas Ingram, Privy Councillor to Charles II., who died Feb. 13, 1671-72, has a monument at the entrance of St. Nicholas's Chapel.

⁵ The name was added in 1867.

Here was laid his mother (1661) and his third son (1664-65), and afterwards his grandson, Lord Cornbury (1723), (who 'represented' Queen Anne, as Governor of New York, by appearing at a levée in woman's robes). His niece, Anne Hyde, wife of Sir Ross Carey, was buried on July 23, 1660, in the centre of the Choir, with a quaint epitaph, commemorating this memorable date.

⁶ Clarendon, vii. 383, 384. State Papers, 1662.

⁷ Evelyn, ii. 184.

Close to Nicholas Monk, under a simple slab, lies Ferne, Bishop of Chester, and Master of Trinity, who had attended Charles I., during his imprisonments, almost to the last, and 'whose only fault it was that he could not be 'angry.' Brian Duppa, Bishop, first of Salisbury, and then of Winchester—who had been with Charles I. at the same period, and had been tutor to Charles II. and James II.—lies in the North Ambulatory, with a small monument, which recalls some of the chief points of interest in his chequered life:—how he had learned Hebrew, when at Westminster, from Lancelot Andrewes, then Dean; how affectionately he had clung to Richmond, the spot where his education of Charles II. had been carried on; how, after the Restoration,¹ he had there built the hospital, which he had vowed during his pupil's exile; how there he died, almost in the arms of that same pupil, who came to see him a few hours before his death, and received his final blessing—one hand on the King's head, the other raised to heaven.²

In the wake of the mighty chiefs who lie in Henry VII.'s Chapel, are monuments to some of the lesser soldiers of that time. In the North Transept and its neighbourhood are five victims of the Dutch war of 1665—viz., William Earl of Marlborough, Viscount Muskerry, Charles Lord Falmouth, Sir Edward Broughton, and Sir William Berkeley. Of these, all fell in battle except Broughton, who 'received his death-wound at 'sea, and died here at home.' Berkeley, brother of Lord Falmouth, was 'embalmed by the Hollanders, 'who had taken the ship when he was slain,' and 'there in 'Holland he lay dead in a sugar-chest for everybody to see, 'with his flag standing up by him.' He was then 'sent over by them, at the request and charge of his relations.'³ From the Dutch war of 1672 were brought, to the same North Aisle, Colonel Hamilton, Captain Le Neve,⁴ and Sir Edward Spragge,⁵ the naval favourite of James II.,

¹ Kennett, p. 650. Pepys's *Diary*, July 29, 1660.—'To Whitehall Chapel. 'Heard a cold sermon of the Bishop 'of Salisbury (Duppa), and the Communion did not please me; they do 'so overdo that.'

² The monument originally was where

that of Lord Ligonier now is. A monument of his namesake, Sir Thos. Duppa, who outlived the dynasty he had served (1694), is in the North Aisle.

³ Register; Pepys, June 16, 1666.

⁴ Under the organ-loft. (Ibid.)

⁵ Campbell's *Admirals*, ii. 338.

and the rival of Van Tromp,¹ whose untimely loss his enemy mourned with a chivalrous regret—‘the love and delight of all ‘men, as well for his noble courage as for the gentle sweetness ‘of his temper.’ In the Nave, beside Le Neve’s tablet, is the joint monument to Sir Charles Harbord² and Clement Harbord and Cottrell,^{1672.} ‘to preserve and unite the memory of two ‘faithful friends, who lost their lives at sea together, in the ‘terrible fight off the Suffolk coast,’³ ‘in which their Admiral, ‘(Lord Sandwich) also perished.’ Not far off is the monument of Sir Palmes Fairborne,⁴ who fell as Governor of Fairborne, Tangiers, October 24, 1680—remarkable partly as a 1680. trace of that outpost of the British Empire, first cradle of our standing army—partly from the inscription written by Dryden, containing, amongst specimens of his worst taste, some worthy of his best moods, describing the mysterious harmony which often pervades a remarkable career:—

His youth and age, his life and death combine
As in some great and regular design,
All of a piece throughout, and all divine :
Still nearer heav’n his virtues shone more bright,
Like rising flames, expanding in their height.

Others are curious, as showing the sense of instability which, in that inglorious reign, beset the mind of the nation, even in the heart of the metropolis:—

Ye sacred reliques ! which your marble keep,
Here, undisturb’d by wars, in quiet sleep ;
Discharge the trust which (when it was below)
Fairborne’s undaunted soul did undergo,
And be the town’s Balladium⁵ from the foe.
Alive and dead these walls he will defend :
Great actions great examples must attend.

Three memorials remain of the calamitous vices of the

¹ Campbell’s *Admirals*, ii. 349, 350.

² There is a touching allusion in Sir Charles Harbord’s will ‘to the death of ‘his dear son Sir Charles Harbord, ‘which happened the 28th of May, ‘1672, being Whitson Tuesday, to ‘his great grief and sorrow, never to ‘be laid aside ;’ and he directed forty shillings to be given to the poor (and himself, if he died in or near Westminster, to be buried) near to the monument, ‘as long as it shall continue

‘whole and undefaced, in Westminster ‘Abbey Church, on the 28th day of ‘May, for ever, by the advice and ‘direction of the Dean then for the ‘time being.’ (Communicated by Colonel Chester.)

³ Epitaph.

⁴ His wife was buried here, 1694 ; an infant son had also been buried in the Cloisters, 1678–79. (Register.)

⁵ So in the epitaph.

period. Thomas Thynne, 'Tom of Ten Thousand,'¹ 'the 'Western Issachar' of Dryden's poems, lies not far from his ancestor William, of happier fame. His monument, like the nearly contemporary one of Archbishop Sharpe at St. Andrews, represents his murder, in his coach in Pall Mall, by the three ruffians of Count Königsmark.² The coachman is that Welshman of whom his son, the Welsh farmer, boasted that his father's monument was thus to be seen in Westminster Abbey. The absence of the long inscription which was intended to have recorded the event³ is part of the same political feeling which protected the murderer from his just due. It was erected (such was the London gossip) by his wife, 'in order to get her a second husband, the comforts of a 'second marriage being the surest to a widow for the loss of a 'first husband.'

Thomas
Thynne,
buried
1681-2.

In the Cloisters is the tablet to Sir Edmond⁴ Berry Godfrey, the supposed victim of the Popish Plot, restored by his brother Benjamin in 1695, with an epitaph remarkable for the singular moderation with which he refers to History for the solution of the mystery of Sir Edmond's death.

Sir E. B.
Godfrey,
1678, 1695.

In the centre of the South Transept lies 'Tom Chiffinch,'⁵ 'the King's closet-keeper. He was as well last night as ever, 'playing at tables in the house, and not being ill this 'morning at six o'clock, yet dead before seven. . . . 'It works fearfully among people nowadays, the plague, as we 'hear, increasing rapidly again.'⁶

T. Chiffinch,
April 10,
1666.

We pass to a monument of this epoch, erected not by public gratitude, but by private affection, which commemorates a husband and wife, both remarkable in the whole of the period which they cover. In the solitude of the North Transept, hitherto almost entirely free from monuments, the romantic William Cavendish, 'the loyal Duke of Newcastle,' built his own tomb.

William
Cavendish,
Duke of
Newcastle,
Jan. 29,
1676-7.

He was a very fine gentleman, active, and full of courage; and most accomplished in those arts of horsemanship, dancing, and fencing which accompany a good breeding. He loved monarchy, as it was the foundation and support of his own greatness; and the Church, as

¹ 'Tom Brown, iii. 127.

² See an account by Hornbeck and Burnet of the last confession of two of the assassins (1682).

³ It is given in Crull (Appendix, p. 26).

⁴ So it is written on his monument.

He was called 'Berry' after a family to which he was related. He is buried at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. (*Londiniana*, iii. 199.)

⁵ He was the brother of the more notorious William Chiffinch.

⁶ Pepys's *Diary*, April 4, 1666.

it was well constituted for the splendour and security of the Crown ; and religion, as it cherished and maintained that order and obedience that was necessary to both ; without any other passion for the particular opinions which were grown up in it, and distinguished it into parties, than as he detested whatsoever was like to disturb the public peace.¹

With him is buried his second wife, herself as remarkable as her husband—the most prolific of female writers, as is indicated by her book and inkstand on the tomb. She was surrounded night and day with young ladies, who were to wake up at a moment's notice 'to take down 'her Grace's conceptions ;' authoress of thirteen folios, written each without corrections, lest her coming fancies should be disturbed by them ; of whom her husband said, in answer to a compliment on her wisdom, 'Sir, a very wise woman 'is a very foolish thing : ' but of whom, in her epitaph, with more unmix'd admiration, he wrote that 'she was a very wise, ' witty, and learned lady, as her many books do testify ; ' and, in words with which Addison was 'very much pleased'—'Her ' name was Margaret Lucas, youngest sister of Lord Lucas of ' Colchester—a noble family, for all the brothers were valiant, ' and all the sisters virtuous.'² 'Of all the riders on Pegasus, ' there have not been a more fantastic couple than his Grace ' and his faithful Duchess, who was never off her pillion.'³ 'There is as much expectation of her coming,' says Pepys, 'as if it were the Queen of Sweden.' He describes her appearance at the Royal Society: 'She hath been a good and ' seemly woman, but her dress so antick, and her deport- ' ment so ordinary, that I do not like her at all ; nor did I hear ' her say anything that was worth hearing, but that she was full ' of admiration, all admiration !'⁴ In reply to her question to Bishop Wilkins, author of the work on the possibility of a passage to the Moon—'Doctor, where am I to find a place for ' waiting in the way up to that planet ? '—Wilkins answered, ' Madam, of all the people in the world, I never expected that ' question from you, who have built so many castles in the air, ' that you may lie every night at one of your own !'

Margaret
Lucas,
Duchess of
Newcastle,
Jan. 7,
1673-4.

¹ Clarendon, iv. 517.

² *Spectator*, No. 99. It has been suggested to me that this may have been inspired by a passage in Molière's *Georges Dandin*, acted in 1668, act i. scene 4—' Dans la maison de Soten-

' ville, on n'a jamais vu de coquette ; et ' la bravoure n'y est pas plus héréditaire ' aux mâles que la chasteté aux femelles.'

³ Walpole (*Londiniana*, i. 127).

⁴ Pepys's *Diary*, April and May 1667.

By a slight anticipation of the chronological order, we may here notice the monument which stands next to this in the Transept, and which with it long guarded the open space.¹ It was attracted to its position by a triple affinity to this particular spot.

John Holles, Duke of Newcastle, Aug. 9, 1711. John Holles was descendant both of the families of George Holles and Sir Francis Vere, who lie immediately behind; and after his marriage with the granddaughter of William Cavendish, who lies immediately by his side, he was created Duke of Newcastle.² By all these united titles he became 'the richest subject that had been in the kingdom for some ages;' ³ and his monument is proportionably magnificent, according to the style which then prevailed. On it the sculptor Gibbs staked his immortality; and by the figures of 'Prudence' and 'Sincerity,' ⁴ which stand on either side, set the example of the allegorical figures which, from that time, begin to fill up the space equally precious to the living and the dead.⁵

The statesmen and warriors of the Revolution have but slight record in the history of the Abbey. Bentinck, the Earl of Portland, with his first descendants, favourite and friend of William III., lies in the Ormond vault, just 'under the great east window.'⁶ When Marshal Schomberg fell in the passage of the Boyne, it was felt that 'the only cemetery in which so illustrious a warrior, 'slain in arms for the liberties and religion of England, could properly be laid,' ⁷ was Westminster Abbey. His corpse was embalmed and deposited for that purpose in a leaden coffin on the field. But, in fact, he was never carried further than Dublin, where he now lies in St. Patrick's Cathedral.⁸ His family, however, are interred in the Ormond vault at Westminster—brother, son, and daughter. In the vault of the Duke of Richmond,⁹ with whose family he was

THE REVOLUTION OF 1688.

Bentinck, Duke of Portland, 1709.

The Duke of Schomberg, Aug. 4, 1719, aged 79.

Sir Joseph Williamson, died Oct. 3, buried Oct. 14, 1701.

Diana Temple, March 27, 1679. Lady Temple

1694. Sir W. Temple, Feb. 1, 1698-9.

¹ The houses of these two Dukes of Newcastle can still be traced; that of Cavendish in *Newcastle Place* in Clerkenwell, that of Holles in the neighbourhood of Lincoln's Inn and of *Newcastle Street* in the Strand.

² See p. 216.

³ Burnett's *Own Time*, vi. 62 (or ii. 580); and see his epitaph.

⁴ 'Sincerity' lost her left hand in the scaffolding of George IV.'s coronation.

⁵ The Chapel behind was, from his

vault, formerly called the 'Holles 'Chapel;' and in it a new vault was, in 1766, made for Lord and Lady Mountrath, who before that had been buried in the Argyll vault. (Register.)

⁶ Register.

⁷ Macaulay, iii. 638.

⁸ Beside the monument inscribed with the famous epitaph by Swift. (Pettigrew's *Epitaphs*, 186.)

⁹ Register.—This seems hardly compatible with the statement in Crull (p. 120), that he was buried in the same

connected by marriage,¹ is Sir Joseph Williamson, the English plenipotentiary at Ryswick.² In the south aisle of the Nave lies, by the side of his daughter Diana and wife Dorothy (former love of Henry Cromwell), Sir William Temple,³ beneath a monument which combines their names with that of his favourite sister Lady Gifford, who long survived him.

One monument alone represents the political aspect of this era—that of George Saville, Marquis of Halifax, who, with his wife and daughter, lies in the vault of Monk close by.

But its position marks his importance. It is the first visible memorial of any subject that has gained a place in the aisle which holds the tomb of Queen Elizabeth.

George
Saville,
Marquis of
Halifax,
April 11,
1696.

Its classical style, with its medallion portrait, marks the entrance into the eighteenth century, which with its Augustan age of literature, and its not unworthy line of ministers and warriors, compensates by magnificence of historic fame for its increasing degradation of art and taste.

Close beside George Saville is the monument of the second Halifax, who lies with him⁴ in General Monk's vault—Charles Montague, his successor in the foremost ranks of the state, his more than successor as a patron of letters:—

WIDOW OF
QUEEN
ANNE.

Charles
Montague,
Earl of
Halifax, May
26, 1716.

When sixteen barren centuries had past,
This second great Mæcenæ came at last.⁵

He had an additional connection with Westminster from his education in the School, and in his will he 'desired to be buried privately in Westminster Abbey, and to have a hand-some plain monument.'⁶ The yet more famous ashes of his friend Addison were attracted, as we shall see, to that spot, by the contiguity of him who 'from a poet had become the chief 'patron of poets.' On Addison's coffin rests the coffin of James Craggs, Secretary of State, and, in spite of their divergent politics, the friend both of Addison and Pope. The narrow aisle, where he was buried, could not afford space for more monuments; and in the erection of his memorial, at the western extremity of the

James
Craggs,
died Feb. 16,
buried
March 2,
1720-1.

small vault that contained Elizabeth Claypole, which is on the other side of the Chapel.

¹ Nichols's *Collect.* viii. 12.

² In St. Paul's Chapel is the monument of Sir Henry Bellasyze, governor of Galway, 1717.

³ Register. See Macaulay's *Essay on Sir W. Temple.*

⁴ He lies on Lady Stanhope's coffin (Register), i.e. the daughter of George Saville.

⁵ Dr. Sewell to Addison. (*British Poets.*)

⁶ *Biog. Brit.* v. 306.

church, we have at once the earliest example of a complete dissociation of the grave and tomb, and also the first monument of imposing appearance erected in the hitherto almost vacant Nave.¹ His premature end at the age of thirty-five, by the smallpox, then making its first great ravages in England, no doubt added to the sympathy excited by his death.² The statue was much thought of at the time. 'It will make the finest figure, I think, in the place; and it is the least part of the honour due to the memory of a man who made the best of his station.'³ So Pope wrote, and the interest which he expressed in the work during its execution never flagged: 'the marble on which the Italian is now at work;' 'the cautions about the forehead, the hair, and the feet;' the visits to the Abbey, where he 'saw the statue up,' though 'the statuary was down' with illness; the inscription on the urn, which he saw 'scored over in the Abbey.' The epitaph remains. 'The Latin inscription,' he says, 'I have made as full and yet as short as I possibly could. It vexes me to reflect how little I must say, and how far short all I can say is of what I believe and feel on that subject: like true lovers' expressions, that vex the heart from whence they come, to find how cold and faint they must seem to others, in comparison of what inspires them invariably in themselves. The heart glows while the tongue falters.'⁴ It exhibits the conflict in public opinion between Latin and English in the writing of epitaphs. It also furnishes the first materials for Dr. Johnson's criticism:—

Statesman, yet friend to truth! of soul sincere,
In action faithful, and in honour clear!
Who broke no promise, serv'd no private end,
Who gain'd no title, and who lost no friend;
Ennobled by himself, by all approv'd,
Prais'd, wept, and honour'd by the Muse he lov'd.

JACOBUS CRAGGS, REGI MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ A SECRETIS ET CONSILIIS
SANCTIORIBUS, PRINCIPIIS PARITER AC POPULI AMOR ET DELICIÆ: VIXIT
TITULIS ET INVIDIA MAJOR, ANNOS HEU PAUCOS, XXXV.

The lines on Craggs [so writes Dr. Johnson] were not originally intended for an epitaph; and therefore some faults are to be imputed

¹ It stood originally at the east end of the Baptistry.

² Johnson's *Poets*, ii. 63.

³ See Pope's *Works*, iii. 368; vi.

374.

⁴ Pope, ix. 427, 428, 442.—For the character of Craggs, see his *Epistle* (ibid. iii. 295, 296; and for the original inscription, ibid. iv. 290).

to the violence with which they are torn from the poem that first contained them. We may, however, observe some defects. There is a redundancy of words in the first couplet: it is superfluous to tell of him, who was *sincere, true, and faithful*, that he was *in honour clear*. There seems to be an opposition intended in the fourth line, which is not very obvious: where is the relation between the two positions, that he *gained no title* and *lost no friend*? It may be proper here to remark the absurdity of joining, in the same inscription, Latin and English, or verse and prose. If either language be preferable to the other, let that only be used; for no reason can be given why part of the information should be given in one tongue, and part in another, on a tomb more than in any other place, or any other occasion; and to tell all that can be conveniently told in verse, and then to call in the help of prose, has always the appearance of a very artless expedient, or of an attempt unaccomplished. Such an epitaph resembles the conversation of a foreigner, who tells part of his meaning by words, and conveys part by signs.¹

Criticism
of Dr.
Johnson.

The situation of the monument has been slightly changed, but the care which was expended upon it was not in vain, if the youthful minister and faithful lover of the Muses becomes the centre of the memorials of greater statesmen than himself, and of poets not unworthy of Pope—Pitt and Fox, Wordsworth and Keble.

In the Nave is a slight record of an earlier statesman of this age—Sidney, Earl Godolphin, 'chief minister of Queen Anne during the nine first glorious years of her reign,' buried in the south aisle—'a man of the clearest head, the calmest temper, and the most incorrupt of all the ministers of states' that Burnet had ever known²—'the silentest and modestest man that was, perhaps, ever bred in a court;'³ and who maintained to his life's end the short character which Charles II. gave him when he was page,—'He was never in the way, and never out of the way.'⁴ The bust was erected to him by Henrietta (his daughter-in-law), daughter and heiress of the great Duke of Marlborough, who was buried beside him and his brother. Her mother Sarah was standing by Lord Godolphin's deathbed, with Sir Robert Walpole, then in his early youth. The dying Earl took Walpole by the hand, and turning to the Duchess, said: 'Madam, should you ever desert this

Lord
Godolphin,
died Sept.
15, buried
Oct. 8, 1712.

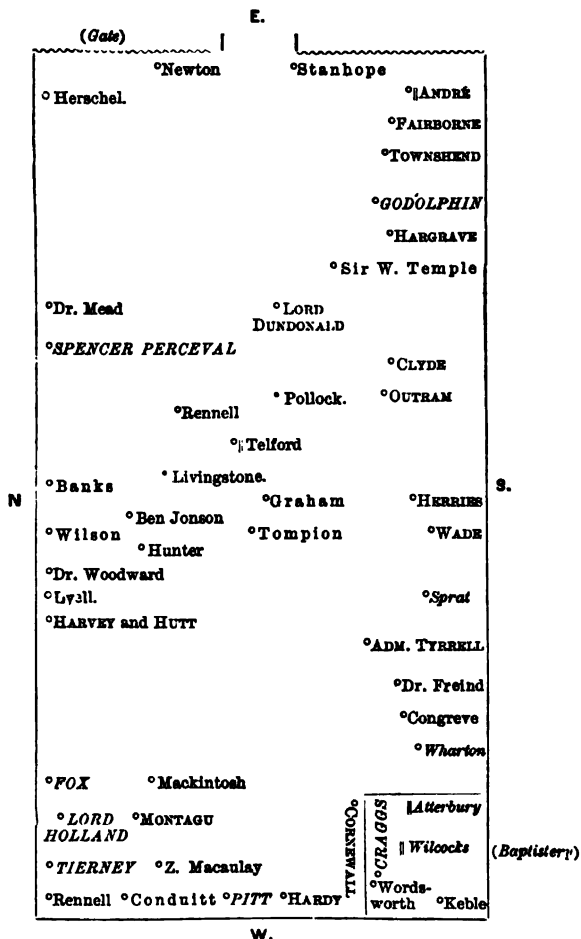
Henrietta,
Duchess of
Marl-
borough,
1733.

¹ Johnson's *Poets*, iii. 205, 206.

² *Own Time*, vi. 135 (or ii. 614).

³ *Ibid.* ii. 240 (or i. 479).

⁴ See Pope, v. 256.



PLAN OF THE NAVE.

'young man, and there should be a possibility of returning from the grave, I shall certainly appear to you.'¹

Before passing to Walpole and the ministers of the Hanoverian dynasty, we must pause on the War of the Succession in Germany and Spain, as before we were involved in the Flemish wars of Elizabeth and the Dutch wars of Charles II.; and again the funerals of Blake and Monk are renewed, and the funerals of Nelson and Wellington, in our own day, anticipated. When the 'Spectator,' 'in his serious humour, walked by himself in Westminster Abbey,' he observed that 'the present war had filled the church with many uninhabited monuments,'² which had been erected to the memory of persons whose bodies were perhaps buried on the plains of Blenheim, or in the bosom of the ocean.'³ These monuments were chiefly in the northern aisle of the Nave—to General Killigrew, killed in the battle of Almanza; to Colonel Bingfield,⁴ aide-de-camp to the Duke of Marlborough, killed at the battle of Ramillies, whilst remounting the Duke on a fresh horse, his former "fayling"⁵ under him, and interred at Bavechem, in Brabant, a principal part of the English generals attending his obsequies; to Lieutenant Heneage Twysden, killed at the battle of Blaregnies, and his two brothers, John and Josiah, of whom the first was lieutenant under Sir Cloudesley Shovel, and perished with him, and the second was killed at the siege of Agremont in Flanders.

WAR OF
THE SUC-
CESSION.

Killigrew,
April 14,
1707.
Bingfield,
May 23,
1706.

Heneage
Twysden,
Sept. 1709.
John
Twysden,
Oct. 22,
1707.
Josiah
Twysden,
1708.

In the southern aisle was the cenotaph to Major Creed, who fell in his third charge at Blenheim, and was buried on the spot. 'It was erected by his mother,' 'near another which her son, while living, used to look up to with pleasure, for the worthy mention it makes of that

Creed,
1704.

¹ Walpole's *Letters*, vol. i. p. cxxiii.

² One such monument was placed there long after Addison's time. Old Lord Ligonier, after having fought all through the wars of Anne, died at the age of 92 (1770), in the middle of the reign of George III.

³ *Spectator*, No. 26 (1711).

⁴ 'Poor Bingfield, holding my stirrup for me, and lifting me on horse-back, was killed. I am told that he leaves his wife and mother in a poor condition.' (Letter to the Duchess of Marlborough on the next day, March

24, 11 A.M.) There is a similar expression in the formal despatch: 'You may depend that Her Majesty will not fail to take care of poor Bingfield's widow.' (Coxe's *Life of Marlborough*, ii. 354, 357.) He is called on the monument Bringfield. His head was struck off by a cannon-ball. The monument records that he had often been seen at the services in the Abbey.

⁵ The horse did not 'fayl,' but the Duke was thrown in leaping a ditch. (Coxe, ii. 354.)

'great man the Earl of Sandwich, to whom he had the honour
'to be related, and whose heroic virtues he was ambitious to
'emulate.'¹

To the trophies on 'one of these new monuments,' perhaps this very one, as Sir Roger de Coverley went up the body of the church he pointed, and cried out, 'A brave man I warrant
'him!' As the two friends advanced through the church, they passed, on the south side of the Choir, a more imposing structure, on which Sir Roger flung his hand that way, and

Sir Cloudesley Shovel,
died Oct. 22,
buried Dec.
23, 1707.

cried, 'Sir Cloudesley Shovel, a very gallant man!' The 'Spectator' had passed there before, and 'it had
'often given him very great offence. Instead of the
'brave rough English Admiral, which was the distinguishing
'character of that plain gallant man, he is represented by the
'figure of a beau, dressed in a long periwig, and reposing him-
'self on velvet cushions, under a canopy of state. The in-
'scription is answerable to the monument, for, instead of
'celebrating the many remarkable actions he had performed in
'the service of his country, it acquaints us only with the
'manner of his death, in which it was impossible for him to
'reap any honour.'² The Admiral was returning with his fleet from Gibraltar. It was believed that the crew had got drunk for joy that they were within sight of England. The ship was wrecked, and Sir Cloudesley's body was thrown ashore on one of the islands of Scilly, where some fishermen took him up, and, having stolen a valuable emerald ring from his finger, stripped and buried him. This ring being shown about made a great noise all over the island. The body was accordingly discovered by Lieutenant Paxton, purser of the 'Arundell,' who took it up, and transported it in his own ship to Plymouth, where it was embalmed in the Citadel, and thence conveyed by land to London, and buried, from his house in Soho Square, in the Abbey with great solemnity.³

At the time when the 'Spectator' surveyed the Abbey the great commander of the age was still living. The precincts

¹ *Epitaph*. — It originally stood where André's monument now is, and therefore nearer to Harbord's monument, to which it alludes.

² *Spectator*, No. 139.

³ Campbell's *Admirals*, iii. 28-30. *Plymouth Memoirs*, by James Yonge, p. 40. — There is no monument to

Admiral Delaval, long the companion of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who died in the North, and was buried in the Abbey on January 23, 1706-7 (*ibid.* iii. 8; Charnock's *Naval Biography*, ii. 1), at the upper end of the west aisle. (Register.)

had already witnessed a scene of mourning, in connection with his house, more touching than any monument, more impressive than any funeral. At King's College, Cambridge, The Duke of Marlborough. is a stately monument, under which lies the Duke's only son, cut off there in the flower of his promise. The Duke himself had been obliged to start immediately for his great campaign. But a young noble¹ amongst the Westminster boys, as he played in the cloisters, recognised a strange figure, which he must have known in the great houses of London. It was Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, who 'used, by way of mortification and as a mark of affection, to dress herself like a beggar, and sit with some miserable wretches² in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey.' At last on that proud head descended the severest blow of all; and we are once more admitted to the Abbey by the correspondence between Pope and Atterbury. 'At the time of the Duke of Marlborough's funeral,' writes Pope, 'I intend to lie at the Deanery, and moralise one evening with you on the vanity of human glory;'³ and Atterbury writes in return—

Mourning of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, for her son, Feb. 20, 1702-3.

I go to-morrow to the Deanery, and, I believe, shall stay there till I have said 'Dust to dust,' and shut up that last scene of pompous vanity. It is a great while for me to stay there at this time of the year, and I know I shall often say to myself, whilst expecting the funeral:

O rus, quando ego te aspiciam, quandoque licebit
Ducere sollicitæ jocunda oblivia vitæ?

In that case I shall fancy I hear the ghost of the dead thus entreat-ing me:

At tu sacratæ ne parce malignus arenæ
Ossibus et capiti inhumato
Particulam dare
Quamquam festinas, non est mora longa: licebit
Injecto ter pulvere curras.

There is an answer for me somewhere in *Hamlet* to this request, which

¹ The Duchess of Portland said 'the Duke (her husband) had often seen her, during this mourning of hers, when he was a boy at Westminster school.' She used to say that 'she was very certain she should go to heaven; and as her ambition went now beyond the grave, that she knew she should have one of the highest seats.' (Mrs. Delany's *Autobiography*, iii. 167.)

² A Chapter order, May 6, 1710, mentions the 'Appointment of a constable to restrain divers disorderly beggars daily walking and begging in the Abbey and Cloisters, and many idle boys daily coming into the Cloisters, who there play at cards and other plays for money, and are often heard to curse and swear.'

³ *Letters*, iv. 6.

you remember though I do not: '*Poor ghost, thou shalt be satisfied!*' or something like it. However that be, take care that you do not fail in your appointment, that the company of the living may make me some amends for my attendance on the dead.

Sed me

Imperiosa trahit Proserpina, vive valeque.

Death of
the Duke
of Marl-
borough,
June 16,
1722. His
funeral,
Aug. 9,
1722.

The Tory prelate and the Tory poet waited, no doubt, long and impatiently for the slow cavalcade of the funeral of the Great Duke, whose Whiggery they could not pardon even at that moment—

By unlamenting veterans borne on high—
Dry obsequies, and pomps without a sigh.

His remains had been removed from Windsor Lodge, where he died, to Marlborough House. From thence the procession was opened by bands of military, accompanied by a detachment of artillery, in the rear of which followed Lord Cadogan, Commander-in-Chief, and several general officers, who had been devoted to the person of the Duke, and had suffered in his cause. Amidst long files of heralds, officers at arms, mourners, and assistants, the eye was caught by the banners and guidons emblazoned with his armorial achievements, among which was displayed, on a lance, the standard of Woodstock, exhibiting the arms of France on the Cross of St. George.

In the centre of the cavalcade was an open car, bearing the coffin, which contained his mortal remains, surmounted with a suit of complete armour, and lying under a gorgeous canopy, adorned with plumes, military trophies, and heraldic achievements. To the sides shields were affixed, exhibiting emblematic representations of the battles he had gained, and the towns he had conquered, with the motto, '*Bello hæc et plura.*' On either side were five captains in military mourning, bearing aloft a series of bannerols, charged with the different quarterings of the Churchill and Jennings families.

The Duke of Montagu, who acted as chief mourner, was supported by the Earls of Sunderland and Godolphin, and assisted by eight dukes and two earls. Four earls were also selected to bear the pall. The procession was closed by a numerous train of carriages belonging to the nobility and gentry, headed by those of the King and the Prince of Wales.

The cavalcade moved along St. James's Park to Hyde Park Corner, and from thence, through Piccadilly and Pall Mall, by Charing Cross to Westminster Abbey. At the west door it was received by the dignitaries and members of the Church, in their splendid habiliments;¹

¹ See note in Atterbury's *Letters*, iv. 6, 7.—The Dean and Canons appear in copes. The Dean set up an

altar at the head of Henry VII.'s tomb (ibid. iv. 11), as in Monk's funeral.

and the venerable pile blazed with tapers and torches innumerable. . . . The procession then moved through the Nave and Choir to the Chapel of Henry VII.¹

—to the vault² which contained the ashes of Ormond, and which had once contained the ashes of Cromwell. The expenses were defrayed by Sarah herself.

Twenty-four years afterwards the body was removed to a mausoleum, erected under her superintendence, in the Chapel at Blenheim, and there, a few weeks later, she was laid by his side.³

The Duke's brother, Admiral Churchill, who preceded him by a few years, rests in the south aisle of the Choir.

Admiral
Churchill,
buried May
12, 1710a

Whilst Atterbury and Pope were complaining of the hard fate of having to assist at the funeral of the Duke of Marlborough, they were also corresponding about another tomb, preparing in Henry VII.'s Chapel, over the grave of one whose claims to so exalted a place were made up of heterogeneous materials, each questionable of itself, yet, together with the story of its erection, giving a composite value to the monument of a kind equalled by few in the Abbey. John Sheffield, first Marquis of Normanby, and then Duke of Buckinghamshire or of Buckingham,⁴ by some of his humble cotemporaries regarded as a poet, has won a place in Johnson's 'Lives of the Poets,' and has left one celebrated line.⁵ He has achieved for his name⁶ a more legitimate place in Poets' Corner than his verses could have given him, by uniting it with the name of Dryden,⁷ on the monument which he there erected to his favourite author.

Sheffield,
Duke of
Buckingham-
shire, died Feb. 24,
buried
March 26,
1721.

It was, however, his political and military career, and still more his rank, which won for him a grave and monument in Henry VII.'s Chapel. He must have been no despicable character, who at twelve years undertook to educate himself; who

¹ Coxe's *Marlborough*, vi. 385.

² Register.

³ It appears from the Duchess's will, dated August 11, 1744, that the Duke's body was then still in the Abbey, and from the account of her funeral in October 1744, that it had by that time been removed. (Thomson's *Memoirs of the Duchess of Marlborough*, pp. 502. 562.)

⁴ Johnson's *Lives*, ii. 153.—The ambiguity of the title was to guard against confusion with Villiers, Duke

of Buckingham. His full title was 'the Duke of the County of Buckingham.'

⁵ A faultless monster which the world ne'er saw.

(Johnson, ii. 155.)

⁶ 'Muse, 'tis enough—at length thy labour ends,

And thou shalt live—for Buckingham commends,

Sheffield approves, consenting Phœbus bends.' (Pope, iii. 331.)

⁷ See pp. 260.

maintained the presence of mind ascribed to him in the extraordinary peril at sea to which he was exposed by the perfidy of Charles II.; who, by his dexterous answers, evaded the proselytism of James II. and the suspicions of William III. But probably his family connections carried the day over all his other qualifications. He who had in his youth been the accepted lover of his future sovereign, Anne, the legitimate daughter, and who afterwards married the natural daughter of James II., almost fulfilled the claims of royal lineage. His elevation to the historic name of Buckingham—which, perhaps, procured for his monument the Chapel next to that filled, in the reign of Charles I., by his powerful namesake—left his mark on the stately mansion which, even when transformed into a royal palace, is still ‘*Buckingham House*,’ created by his skill out of the old mulberry garden in St. James’s Park, with the inscription *Rus in urbe*, ‘as you see from the garden nothing but country.’¹ As he lay there in state, the crowd was so great, that the father of the antiquary Carter, who was present, was nearly drowned in the basin in the courtyard.² The Duchess, ‘*Princess Buckingham*,’ as Walpole calls her, was so proud of her ‘illegitimate parentage as to go and weep over the grave of her father, James II., at St. Germain’s, and have a great mind to be buried by him.’³ ‘On the martyrdom of her grandfather, Charles I., she received Lord Hervey in the great drawing-room of Buckingham House, seated in a chair of state, attended by her women in like weeds, in memory of the Royal Martyr.’⁴ Yet she did full honour to her adopted race; and to express her gratitude for the contrast between the happiness of her second marriage and the misery of her first, her husband’s funeral was to be as magnificent as that of the great Duke of Marlborough; and his monument to be as splendid as the Italian taste of that pedantic age could make it. Pope was in eager communication with her and the artist Bellucci, to see that the likenesses were faithful.⁵ Three children, two sons and a daughter, were transferred at the same time to their father’s vault, from the neighbouring Church of St. Margaret.⁶ One son

Sheffield’s
grave and
monument.

Sheffield’s
funeral,
March 25,
1721.

His family.

¹ Defoe’s *Journey through England*, i. 194.

² *Gent. Mag.*, vol. lxxxiv. pt. ii. p. 518.

³ Walpole, i. 234.—One of the monks

tried to make her observe how ragged the pall was, but she would not buy a new one.

⁴ Walpole’s *Reminiscences*.

⁵ Pope, viii. 336; ix. 228. ⁶ Register.

alone' remained, the last of the house, from whom his mother was inseparable; and when he died in early youth at Rome, a few years later, she revived the pageant once more. Priding herself on being 'a 'Tory Duchess 'of Marlborough,' she wrote to Sarah, to borrow the triumphal car that had transported the remains of the famous Duke. 'It carried my Lord Marlborough,' replied the other, 'and shall never be profaned by any other 'corpse.' 'I have consulted the undertaker,' retorted her proud rival, 'and he tells me that I may have a finer for twenty 'pounds.'² The waxen effigies of herself and of her son, which were prepared for this solemnity, are still preserved in the Abbey.³ That of her son, as it lay in state, she invited his friends to visit, with a message that, if they had a mind to see him, she could carry them in conveniently by a back-door.⁴

Edmund Sheffield, Duke of Buckinghamshire, died at Rome, Oct. 30, 1735; buried Jan. 31, 1735-6.

The Duchess settled her own funeral with the Garter King-at-Arms, on her deathbed, and 'feared dying before the pomp 'should come home.' 'Why don't they send the 'canopy for me to see? Let them send it, though all 'the tassels are not finished.' She made her ladies vow to her that, if she should lie senseless, they would not sit down in the room before she was dead.

Catherine, Duchess of Buckinghamshire, April 8, 1743.

Both mother and son were laid in the same tomb with the Duke. Atterbury's letters are filled with affection for them,⁵ and Pope wrote a touching epitaph for her⁶ (which was, however, never inscribed), and corrected an elaborate description in prose of her character and person, written by herself.⁷ She quarrelled with the poet, but accepted the corrections, and showed the character as his composition in her praise.

Sheffield's epitaph on himself is an instructive memorial at once of his own history and of the strange turns of human thought and character.⁸ 'Pro Rege sæpe, pro Republica semper,' well sums up his political career under the last three Stuarts. Then comes the expression of his belief:

Sheffield's epitaph.

¹ On the monument Time is represented bearing away the four children.

² Walpole's *Reminiscences*.

³ See Note on the Waxworks, p. 321.

⁴ Walpole's *Reminiscences*, i. 234.

⁵ For the Duchess, see Atterbury's *Letters*, iv. 135, 153, 161, 163, 253, 263, 310, 317; and for the young

Duke, *ibid.* iv. 149, 155.

⁶ Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*, iii. 216.

⁷ Pope, vii. 323, 325.

⁸ The sensation produced by the epitaph at the time is evident from the long defence of it 'by Dr. Richard Fiddes, 'in answer to a Freethinker' (1721).

*Dubius sed non improbus vixi ;
 Incertus morior, non perturbatus.
 Humanum est nescire et errare.*

Deo confido

*Omnipotentis benevolentissimo :
 Ens entium, miserere mei.*

Many a reader has paused before this inscription. Many a one has been touched by the sincerity through which a profound and mournful scepticism is combined with a no less profound and philosophic faith in the power and goodness of God. In spite of the seeming claim to a purer life¹ than Sheffield, unhappily, could assert, there is in the final expression a pathos, amounting almost to true penitence. 'If any heathen could 'be found,' says even the austere John Newton, 'who sees the 'vanity of the world, and says from his heart, *Ens entium*, 'miserere mei, I believe he would be heard.' He adds, 'But I 'never found such, though I have known many heathens.'² Perhaps he had never seen this monument, but quoted the words from hearsay. The expression is supposed to have been suggested by the traditional last prayer of Aristotle, who earnestly implored 'the mercy of the Great First Cause.'³ But many readers also have been pained by the omission of any directly Christian sentiment, and have wondered how an inscription breathing a spirit so exclusively drawn from natural religion found its way, unrebuked and uncorrected, into a Christian church. Their wonder will be increased when they hear that it once contained that very expression of awestruck affection for the Redeemer, which would fill up the void; that it originally stood '*Christum adveneror, Deo confido.*'⁴ The wonder will be heightened yet more when they learn that this expression was erased, not by any too liberal or philosophic layman, but by the episcopal champion of the High Church party—Atterbury, to whom, as Dean of Westminster, the inscription was submitted. And this marvel takes the form of a significant lesson in ecclesiastical history, when we are told the

¹ Unless 'non improbus' refers to his opinions, 'not hardened.'

² Scott's *Eclectic Notes*, p. 265.

³ Fiddes (p. 40), who quotes from *Celsus Rhodigenus* (tom. ii. lib. 17, c. 34), and adds the prayer of the friends who are supposed to be standing by the philosopher's deathbed—

'*Qui philosophorum animas excipit et*

tuam colligit.' (Ibid. tom. ii. lib. 18, c. 31.)

⁴ The original inscription is given at length in Crull, ii. 49 (1722); and also in Fiddes's *Letter* (1721), who argues at length on the force of the expression (p. 38). It was in this form that it received the approval of Erasmus Darwin (*Life*, by Charles Darwin, p. 15).

grounds of the objection—that the word *adveneror* ‘was not ‘full enough as applied to Christ.’¹ How like is this criticism to the worldly theologian who made it, but how like also to the main current of theological sentiment for many ages, which, rather than tolerate a shade of suspected heresy, will admit absolute negation of Christianity—which refuses to take the half unless it can have the whole. And, finally, how useless was this caution to the character of the prelate who erased the questionable words. The man of the world always remains unconvinced, and in this case was represented by the scoffing Matthew Prior, who, in the short interval that elapsed between the Duke of Buckingham’s funeral and his own, wrote the well-known lines, which, though professedly founded on a perverse interpretation of the charitable hope of the Burial Service, evidently point in reality to the deep-seated suspicion of Atterbury’s own sincerity :

Of these two learned peers, I prythee say, man,
Who is the lying knave, the priest or layman ?
The Duke—he stands an infidel confess’d,
‘He’s our dear brother,’ quoth the lordly priest.²

Three statesmen stretch across the first half of the eighteenth century. John Campbell, Duke of Argyll and Greenwich—soldier and statesman alike, of the first order in neither service, but conspicuous in both as the representative of the northern kingdom, which through his influence more than that of any single person was united to England—was buried in a vault³ in Henry VII.’s Chapel, made for himself and his family, far away from his ancestral resting-place at Kilmun. His monument, erected by Roubiliac at the cost of an admiring friend, stands almost alone of his class amongst the poets in the Southern Transept—a situation⁴ which may well be accorded by our generation to one with whose charming character and address our age has become familiar chiefly through the greatest of Novelists. In the

1678-1743.
Duke of
Argyll and
Greenwich,
buried Oct.
16, 1743.

¹ The opposite party, in the published copies of the inscription, inserted *solo* after *Deo*. (Fiddes, p. 39.)

² Pope’s *Works*, ix. 209.

³ This new vault was made in 1743. His widow was interred there April 23, 1767; his daughters, Caroline, Countess of Dalkeith, in 1791, and Mary (Lady Mary Coke) in 1811 (Register), ‘the lively little lady’

who, in the *Heart of Midlothian*, banters her father after the interview with Jeannie Deans.

⁴ The monument displaced the ancient staircase leading from the Dormitory. (*Gleanings*, p. 48.) Close to it were characteristically pressed the monuments of two lesser members of the Campbell clan. 1791-1819.

sculptured emblems, History pauses at the title of 'Greenwich,' which was to die with him. 'Eloquence,' with outstretched hand, in an attitude which won Canova's special praise,¹ represents the 'thunder'² and 'persuasion'³ described by the poets of his age. The inscription which History is recording, and which was supplied by the poet Paul Whitehead,⁴ and the volumes of 'Demosthenes' and Cæsar's 'Commentaries,' which lie at the foot of Eloquence, commemorate his union of military and oratorical fame; whilst his Whig principles are represented in the sculptured Temple of Liberty and a cherub holding up *Magna Charta*.

Walpole died at Houghton, and was interred in the parish church without monument or inscription:

So peaceful rests, without a stone, a name
Which once had honour, titles, wealth, and fame.⁵

But he is commemorated in the Abbey by the monument of his first wife, Catherine Shorter, whose beauty, with the good looks of his own youth, caused them to be known as 'the handsome couple.' The position of her statue, in the south aisle of Henry VII.'s Chapel, is one to which nothing less than her husband's fame would have entitled her. It was erected by Horace Walpole, her youngest son, and remains a striking proof both of his affection for her and his

Lady Walpole, died Aug. 20, 1787.

Her statue.

love of art. The statue itself was copied in Rome from the famous figure of 'Modesty,' and the inscription, written by himself, perpetuates the memory of her excellence: 'An ornament to courts, untainted by them.' If the story be true, that Horace was really the son of Lord Hervey, it is remarkable as showing his unconsciousness of the suspicion of his mother's honour. He murmured a good deal at having to pay forty pounds for the ground of the statue,⁶ but 'at last,' he says, 'the monument for my mother is erected: it puts me in mind of the manner of interring the Kings of France—when the reigning one dies, the last before him is buried. Will you believe that I have not yet seen the tomb? None of my acquaintance were in town, and I literally had not

¹ *Life of Nollekens*, ii. 161.

² 'Argyll, the state's whole thunder
born to wield,
And shake alike the senate and
the field.'—(Pope.)

³ 'From his rich tongue
Persuasion flows, and wins the
high debate.'—(Thomson.)

⁴ Neale, ii. 258.

⁵ Coxe's *Walpole*, chap. lxii. and lxiii.

⁶ Walpole's *Letters*, ii. 277.

'courage to venture alone among the Westminster boys;
'they are as formidable to me as the ship-carpenters at
'Portsmouth.'¹

Pulteney, after his long struggles, determined, when he had reached his peerage, to be buried in the Abbey, which he had known from his childhood as a Westminster boy. A vault was constructed for himself and his family in the Islip Chapel,² and there, in his eightieth year, his obsequies were performed by his favourite Bishop Zachary Pearce.³ In the pressure to see his funeral (which, as usual, took place at night), a throng of spectators stood on the tomb of Edward I., opposite the vault.⁴ A mob broke in, and, in the alarm created by the confusion, the gentlemen tore down the canopy of the royal tomb, and defended the pass of the steps leading into the Confessor's Chapel with their drawn swords and the broken rafters of the canopy. Pelham's career is celebrated by the monument to his 'very faithful' secretary, Roberts, in the South Transept. His brother the Duke of Newcastle is faintly recalled by the monument on the opposite side to Robinson, who was distinguished by the name of 'Long Sir Thomas Robinson.'⁵ 'He was a man of the world, or rather 'of the town, and a great pest to persons of high rank, or in 'office. He was very troublesome to the late Duke of Newcastle, and when in his visits to him he was told that His 'Grace had gone out, would desire to be admitted to look at 'the clock or to play with a monkey that was kept in the hall, 'in hopes of being sent for in to the Duke. This he had so

Pulteney,
Earl of
Bath, died
July 7,
buried July
17, 1764.

His funeral.

Roberts,
Secretary of
Pelham,
1776.

¹ Walpole's *Letters*, i. 352.

² Probably attracted by the grave of Jane Crewe, heiress of the Pulteneys in 1639, whose pretty monument is over the chapel door.

³ The most conspicuous monument in the Cloisters is that of David Pulteney, who died September 7, 1731, buried May 17, 1732. (Register.) He was M.P. for Preston, and in 1722 a Lord of the Admiralty. It seems that the independence which is so lauded in this epitaph showed itself in his opposition to Walpole, and his defence of free trade and of the interests of the British merchants abroad (see *Parliamentary History*, viii. 1, 608, 647).

⁴ *Gent. Mag.* 1817, part i. p. 33.—The antiquary Carter was present, as a

boy: 'I stood, with many others, on 'the top of the tomb. . . . A dreadful 'conflict ensued. Darkness soon closed 'the scene.' (Ibid. 1799, part ii. p. 859.)

⁵ Hawkins' *Johnson*, p. 192, which erroneously states that he 'rests in the 'Abbey.' He was called 'Long' from his stature, to distinguish him from the 'German' Sir Thomas Robinson of the same date, who was a diplomatist. 'Long Sir Thomas Robinson is dying by 'inches,' said some one to Chesterfield. 'Then it will be some time before he 'dies.' The appointment to the governorship of Barbadoes, mentioned on his monument, was given to him because Lord Lincoln wanted his house. (Walpole's *Letters*, i. 22; vi. 247.)

'frequently done, that all in the house were tired of him. 'At length it was concocted among the servants that he should 'receive a summary answer to his usual questions, and accordingly, at his next coming, the porter, as soon as he had 'opened the gate, and without waiting for what he had to say, 'dismissed him in these words: Sir, his Grace has gone out, 'the clock stands, and the monkey is dead.' His epitaph commemorates his successful career in Barbadoes, and 'the 'accomplished woman, agreeable companion, and sincere friend' he found in his wife.

The rebellion of 1745 has left its trace in the tablet erected in the North Transept to General Guest, 'who closed 'a service of sixty years by faithfully defending 'Edinburgh Castle against the rebels' in 1745; and in the elaborate monument of Roubiliac, in the Nave, to Marshal Wade, buried March 21, 1747-8, near the Choir gate. The well-known Scottish proverb, achieved the subjugation of the Highlands. A cenotaph in the East Cloister celebrates 'two affectionate brothers, valiant soldiers 'and sincere Christians,' Scipio and Alexander Duroure, of whom the first fell at Fontenoy in 1745; and the second was buried here in 1765, after fifty-seven years of faithful service.

Following the line of the eye, and erected by the great sculptor just named—who seems for these few years to have attained a sway over the Abbey more complete than any of those whose trophies he raised—are the memorials of two friends, 'remarkable for their monuments in Westminster Abbey,' but for little beside. That to General Fleming was erected by Sir John Fleming, who also lies there, 'to 'the memory of his uncle, and his best of friends.'² That to General Hargrave appears to have provoked a burst of general indignation at the time. It was believed to have been raised to him merely on account of his wealth.³ At the time it was thought that 'Europe could 'not show a parallel to it.'⁴ Now, the significance of the

¹ 'My old commander General Guest,' says Colonel Talbot in *Waterley*, vol. iii. chap. 3.

² Epitaph. — The whole Fleming family are congregated under these monuments. (Register.)

³ 'Some rich man.' (Goldsmith's

Citizen of the World, p. 46.) It was said that a wag had written under the figure struggling from the tomb, 'Lie 'still if you're wise; you'll be damned 'if you rise.' (Hutton's *London Tour*.)

⁴ Malcolm, p. 169.

falling pyramids has been so lost, that they have even been brought forward as a complaint against the Dean and Chapter for allowing the monuments to go to ruin.

It was at this time that Goldsmith uttered his complaint: 'I find in Westminster Abbey several new monuments erected to the memory of several great men. The names of the great men I absolutely forget, but I well remember that Roubiliac was the statuary who carved them. . . . Alas! alas! cried I, such monuments as these confer honour not on the great men, but on little Roubiliac.'¹ But the sculptor himself was never satisfied. He constantly visited Dr. Johnson to get from him epitaphs worthy of his works.² He used to come and stand before 'his best work,' the monument of Wade, and weep to think that it was put too high to be appreciated.³ The Nightingale tomb was probably admitted more for his sake than for that of the mourners. Yet when he came back from Rome, and once more saw his own sculptures in the Abbey, he had the magnanimity to exclaim, with the true candour of genius, 'By God! my own works looked to me as meagre and starved as if they had been made of tobacco pipes.'

The successors of Marlborough by land and sea still carry on the line of warriors, now chiefly in the Nave. At the west end is the tablet of Captain William Horneck, the earliest of English engineers, who learned his military science under the Duke of Marlborough, and is buried in his father's grave in the South Transept. There also is told the story of Sir Thomas Hardy—descendant of the protector of Henry VII. on his voyage from Brittany to England, and ancestor of the companion of Nelson—who, for his services under Sir George Rooke, lies buried (with his wife) near the west end of the Choir. There, too, is the first monument erected by Parliament to naval heroism—the gigantic memorial of the noble but now forgotten death of Captain Cornewall, in the battle off Toulon; and, close upon it, the yet more prodigious mass of rocks, clouds, sea, and ship, to commemorate the peaceful death of Admiral Tyrrell.⁴

Roubiliac's
monuments.

William
Horneck,
April 27,
1746.

Sir Thomas
Hardy, Aug.
24, 1782;
Lady Hardy,
May 3, 1720.

Cornewall,
Dec. 28, 1743.
Tyrrell, died
June 6, 1766.

¹ Goldsmith.

² *Life of Reynolds*, i. 119.

³ Akermann, ii. 37.

⁴ The idea of the monument seems to

be to represent the Resurrection under difficulties. Tyrrell, though he died on land, was buried in the sea, and is sculptured as rising out of it. Com-

In the North Transept and the north aisle of the Choir follow the cenotaphs of a host of seamen—Baker, who died at Portmahon; Saumarez, who fought from his sixteenth to his thirty-seventh year under Anson and Hawke; the 'good but unfortunate' Balchen, lost at sea; Temple West, his son-in-law; Vernon, celebrated for his 'fleet near Portobello lying'; Lord Aubrey Beauclerk, the gallant son of the first Duke of St. Albans, who fell under Vernon at Carthage, and whose epitaph is ascribed to Young; and Warren, represented by Roubiliac with the marks of the small-pox on his face. Wager, celebrated for his 'fair character,' who in his youth had fought in the service of the American Quaker, Captain Hull, is buried in the North Transept,¹ and Admiral Holmes is near St. Paul's Chapel.

Baker, died
Nov. 20,
1718.
Saumarez,
Oct. 14,
1747, buried
at Plymouth.
Balchen,
1744.
Temple
West, 1757.
Vernon,
1761.
Beauclerk,
1740.
Warren,
1762.
Wager,
buried in
North
Transept,
1743.
Holmes,
1761.

The narrow circle of these names takes a wider sweep as, with the advance of the century, the Colonial Empire starts up under the mighty reign of Chatham. Now for the first time India on one side, and North America on the other, leap into the Abbey. The palm-trees and Oriental chiefs on the monument of Admiral Watson recall his achievements at the Black Hole of Calcutta, and at Chandernagore;² as the elephant and Mahratta captive on that of Sir Eyre Coote, and the hill of Trichinopoly on that of General Lawrence, recall, a few years later, the glories of Coromandel and the Carnatic. George Montague, Earl of Halifax, 'Father of the Colonies,' from whom the capital of Nova Scotia takes its name, is commemorated in the North Transept; Massachusetts³ and Ticonderoga,⁴ not yet divided from us, appear on the

Admiral
Watson,
buried at
Calcutta,
1757.
Sir Eyre
Coote, buried
at Rockburn,
1783.
Lawrence,
1776.
George
Montague,
Earl of
Halifax,
1771.

pare the like thought in the bequest of William Glanville in the churchyard at Wotton, who, when his father was buried in the Goodwin Sands, and he six yards deep in the earth, left an injunction, still observed, that the apprentices of the parish should, over his grave, on the anniversary of his death, recite the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, and read 1 Cor. xv.

¹ 'There was never any man that behaved himself in the Straits (of Gibraltar) like poor Charles Wager, whom the very Moors do mention with tears sometimes.' (Pepys, iv. 1668.)
² Old Sir Charles Wager is dead at last,

'and has left the fairest character.' (Walpole, i. 248.)

³ Gideon Loten, governor of Batavia, with Ps. xv. 1-4 for his character, has a tablet in the North Aisle (1789).

⁴ Massachusetts is the female figure on the top of the monument. It was executed by Schumberg.

⁵ Ticonderoga appears also on the monument, not far off, of Colonel Townsend, executed by T. Townsend, Carter. 'Here,' says the killed July sculptor's antiquarian son, ²⁸, 1757.

'I recall my juvenile years. . . I then loved the hand that gave form to the yielding marble. I now revere his memory, deeper engraved on my

monument in the south aisle of the Nave, erected to Viscount Howe, the unsuccessful elder brother of the famous admiral. But the one conspicuous memorial of that period is that of his brother's friend—'friends to 'each other as cannon to gunpowder'¹—General Wolfe. He was buried in his father's grave at Greenwich, at the special request of his mother; but the grief excited by his premature death in the moment of victory is manifested by the unusual proportions of the monument, containing the most elaborate delineation of the circumstances of his death—the Heights of Abraham, the River St. Lawrence,² the faithful Highland sergeant, the wounded warrior, the oak with its tomahawks. 'Nothing 'could express my rapture,' wrote the gentle Cowper, 'when 'Wolfe made the conquest of Quebec.' So deep was the enthusiasm for the 'little red-haired corporal,'³ that the Dean had actually consented to erect the monument in the place of the beautiful tomb of the Plantagenet prince, Aymer de Valence—a proposal averted by the better taste of Horace Walpole, but carried out in another direction by destroying the screen of the Chapel of St. John the Evangelist, and dislodging the monument of Abbot Esteney. It marks, in fact, the critical moment of the culmination and decline of the classical costume and undraped figures of the early part of the century. Already, in West's picture of the Death of Wolfe, we find the first example of the realities of modern dress in art.⁴

Earl Howe—great not only by his hundred fights, but by

Lord Howe,
1758; monu-
ment erected
June 14,
1762.
General
Wolfe, killed
at Quebec,
Sept. 13,
buried at
Greenwich,
Nov. 30,
1769. His
monument.

'heart than on that part of the monu-
'ment allotted to perpetuate the name
'of the sculptor.' (*Gent. Mag.* 1799,
pt. ii. p. 669.) Yet it was not en-
tirely Carter's: 'Pray, Mr. Nollekens,'
asked his biographer, 'can you tell
'me who executed the basso-relievo of
'Townsend's monument? . . . I am
'sorry to find that some evil-minded
'persons have stolen one of the heads,'
Nollekens: 'That's what I say.
'Dean Horsley should look after his
'monuments himself. Hang his wax-
'works! Yes, I can tell you who
'did it. Tom Carter had the job, and
'employed another man of the name of
'Eckstein to model the fillet. It's very
'clever. Flaxman used to say he

'would give something for the posses-
'sion of the name of the artist who
'executed the sculptural parts of this
'monument, which he considered as
'one of the finest productions of art in
'the Abbey.' (*Smith's Life of Nolle-
kens*, ii. 308)

¹ Walpole's *Memoirs of George II.*

² The bronze bas-relief is by Capit-
soldi. It is exact down to the minutest
details of Wolfe's cove, the Château de
St. Louis, &c. The monument is by
Wilton, who 'carved Wolfe's figure
'without clothes to display his anato-
'mical knowledge.' (*Life of Nollekens*,
ii. 173.)

³ *Notes and Queries*, xii. 398.

⁴ *Life of Reynolds*, ii. 206.

his character, 'undaunted and silent as a rock, who never 'made a friendship but at the cannon's mouth'¹—first of the naval heroes, received his public monument in St. Paul's instead of the Abbey. It was felt to be a marked deviation from the rule, and the Secretary of State, Lord Dundas, in proposing it to Parliament, emphatically gave the reason. It was that, 'on a late solemn occasion, the colours which 'Lord Howe had taken from the enemy on the first of June 'had been placed in the metropolitan Cathedral.' But that great day of June is not left without its mark in Westminster.

LORD
HOWE'S
CAPTAINS.
Harvey,
Hutt, and
Montagu,
died June
1, 1794.

RODNEY'S
CAPTAINS.
Bayne,
Blair, and
Manners,
April 12,
1782.

The two enormous monuments of Captains Harvey and Hutt, and of Captain Montagu, who fell in the same fight, originally stood side by side between the pillars of the Nave,² the first beginning of an intended series of memorials of a like kind. Corresponding to these three captains of the Nave, but of a slightly earlier date, are the three captains of the North Transept—Bayne, Blair, and Lord Robert Manners, who perished in like manner in Rodney's crowning victory, and whose colossal monument³ so cried for room as to expel from its place the font of the church, which has since taken refuge in the western end of the Nave.⁴

The tablet of Kempfenfelt in the Chapel of St. Michael commemorates the loss of the 'Royal George.'⁵ Admiral Harrison is buried at the entrance into the Cloisters, with the two appropriate texts, *Deus portus meus et refugium*, and *Deus monstravit miracula sua in profundis*; and the funeral of Lord Dundonald, in the Nave—thus at the close of his long life reinstated in the public favour—terminates the series of naval heroes which begins with Blake. Nelson,⁶ who at Cape St. Vincent looked forward only to victory or Westminster Abbey, found his grave in St. Paul's.

The military line still runs on. The unfortunate General

¹ Campbell's *Admirals*, vii. 240.

² (Neale, ii. 228.) They were transposed by Dean Vincent, Montagu to the west end, and Harvey and Hutt, greatly reduced, to one of the windows.

³ It was shut up for seven years after its erection, from the delay of the inscription. (*Gent. Mag.* vol. lxxiii. pt. ii. p. 782.)

⁴ Neale, ii. 208.

⁵ Near this are the monuments of Admirals Storr (1783), Pocock (1793), and Totty (1800), and of Captain Cook, who fell in the sea-fight in the Bay of Bengal (1799), and the handsome medallion of Captain Stewart (1811).

⁶ See a humorous allusion to this in *Lusus West.* ii. 210. See Note on the Waxworks.

Burgoyne, whose surrender at Saratoga lost America to England, lies, without a name, in the North Cloister. But of that great struggle¹ the most conspicuous trace is left on the southern wall of the Nave by the memorial of the ill-fated Major André,² whose remains, brought home after a lapse of forty years, lie close beneath. When,³ at the request of the Duke of York, the body was removed from the spot where it had been buried, under the gallows on the banks of the Hudson, a few locks of his beautiful hair still remained, and were sent to his sisters. The string which tied his hair was sent also, and is now in the possession of the Dean of Westminster. A withered tree and a heap of stones now mark the spot, where the plough never enters. When the remains were removed, a peach tree,⁴ of which the roots had pierced the coffin and twisted themselves round the skull, was taken up, and replanted in the King's garden, behind Carlton House. The courtesy and good feeling of the Americans were remarkable. The bier was decorated with garlands and flowers, as it was transported to the ship. On its arrival in England, it was first deposited in the Islip Chapel, and then buried, with the funeral service, in the Nave, by Dean Ireland, Sir Herbert Taylor appearing for the Duke of York, and Mr. Locker, Secretary of Greenwich Hospital, for the sisters of André. The chest in which the remains were enclosed is still preserved in the Revestry. On the monument, in bas-relief,⁵ by Van Gelder, is to be seen the likeness of Washington receiving the flag of truce and the letter either of André or of Clinton. Many a citizen of the great Western Republic has paused before the sight of the sad story.⁶ Often has the head of Washington or André been carried off, perhaps by republican or royalist indignation, but more probably by the pranks of Westminster boys: 'the wanton mischief,' says Charles Lamb, 'of some school-boy, 'fired perhaps with some 'raw notions of Transatlantic freedom. The mischief was

Burgoyne,
buried Aug.
13, 1792.

André, died
Oct. 2, 1780,
buried Nov.
28, 1821.

¹ The only other mark of the American war, showing the tragic interest it excited, is the monument to William Wragg, shipwrecked in his escape from South Carolina.

² The bas-relief appears to represent André as intended to be shot; not, as was the case, to be hanged.

³ *Life of Major André*, by Winthrop Sargeant, pp. 408-411. *Burial Regis-*

ter. Annual Register, 1821, p. 333.

⁴ In 1868 died an old American lady who had as a girl given him a peach on that occasion.

⁵ The monument was deemed of sufficient importance to displace that of Major Creed.

⁶ Amongst them Benedict Arnold (through whose act André had suffered). Peter von Schenck, p. 147

'done,' he adds, addressing Southey, 'about the time that you were a scholar there. Do you know anything about the unfortunate relic?'¹ Southey, always susceptible at allusions to his early political principles, not till years after could forgive this passage at arms. The wreath of autumnal leaves from the banks of the Hudson which is placed over the tomb was brought by the Dean from America.

Here and there a few warriors of the Peninsular War are to be found in the Aisles. Colonel Herries's funeral, in the south aisle of the Nave, was remarkable for the attendance of the whole of his corps, the Light Horse Volunteers, of which

he was described as the Father.² Sir Robert Wilson,

Sir R. Wilson, May 18, 1849.

Sir James Outram, died at Pau, March 11, buried March 26, 1863.

Lord Clyde, died Aug. 14, buried Aug. 22, 1863.

Sir George Pollock, 1872.

like Lord Dundonald, after many vicissitudes, has found a place in the north aisle of the Nave.³ There also the late Indian campaigns are represented by the two chiefs, Outram and Clyde, united in the close proximity of their graves, after the long rivalry of their lives, followed by Sir George Pollock, whose earlier exploits preserved Afghanistan. The Crimean War, the Indian Mutiny, and the loss of the 'Captain,'

will be long recalled by the stained glass of the North

Transept. The granite column which stands in front of the Abbey also records, in a touching inscription—from its public situation more frequently read perhaps than any other in London—the Westminster scholars who fell in those campaigns, and whose names acquire an additional glory from the most illustrious of their number, Lord Raglan.⁴ A monument not

Monument to Sir John Franklin, 1876.

far from Kempfenfelt, in the Chapel of St. John, was erected to the memory of Sir John Franklin by his hardly less famous widow, a few weeks before her own

death in her 83rd year. Its ornaments are copied from the Arctic vegetation, and from the armorial bearings which served to identify the relics found on his icy grave, and the lines which indicate his tragic fate are by his kinsman, the Poet-Laureate Tennyson.

Down to this point we have followed the general stream of history, as it has wound, at its own sweet will, in and out of Chapel, Aisle, and Nave, without distinction of class or order.

¹ Lamb's *Elia*.

² Lord Teignmouth's *Life*, i. 268.

³ Two young officers, Bryan and Beresford, who fell at Talavera (1809),

and Ciudad Rodrigo (1812), have monuments in the North Aisle.

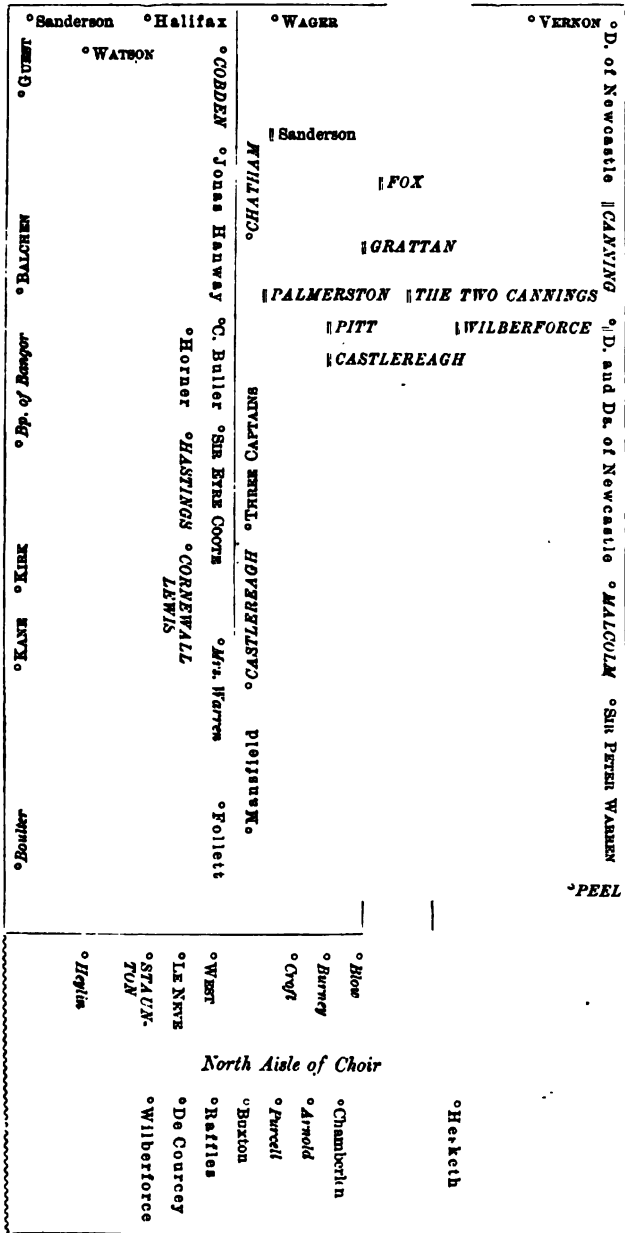
⁴ The erection of the column (1861) is commemorated, and the inscription given in *Lusus West.*, ii. 282–85.

But there are channels which may be kept apart, by the separation both of locality and of interests.

The first to be noticed is the last in chronological order, but flows more immediately out of the general arrangement of the tombs. The statesmen of previous ages had, as THE MODERN STATESMEN. we have seen, found their resting-places and memorials, according to their greater or less importance, in almost every part of the Abbey. But in the middle of the last century a marked change took place. Down to that time one exception presented itself to the general influx. The Northern Transept, like the north side of a country churchyard—like the Pelasgicum under the dark shadow of the north wall of the Acropolis of Athens—had remained a comparative solitude. But, like the Pelasgicum under the pressure of the Peloponnesian War, this gradually began to be occupied. At first it seemed destined to become the Admirals' Corner. They, more than any other class, had filled its walls and vacant niches. One great name, however, determined its future fate for ever. The growth of the naval empire which those nautical monuments symbolised had taken place under one commanding genius. William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, was the first English politician who, without other accom- Lord Chatham, died May 11, 1778. paniments of military or literary glory, or court-favour, won his way to the chief place of statesmanship. Whatever fame had gathered round his life, was raised to the highest pitch by the grand scene at his last appearance in the House of Lords. The two great metropolitan cemeteries contended for his body—a contention the more remarkable if, as was partly believed at the time, he had meanwhile been privately interred in his own churchyard at Hayes. It was urgently entreated by the City of London, as 'a mark of 'gratitude and veneration from the first commercial city of the 'empire towards the statesman whose vigour and counsels had 'so much contributed to the protection and extension of its 'commerce,' that he should be buried 'in the cathedral church 'of St. Paul, in the City of London.' Parliament, however, had already decided in favour of Westminster, on the ground that he ought to be brought 'near to the dust of His funeral, June 8, 1778. 'kings;' and accordingly, with almost regal pomp, the body was brought from the Painted Chamber, and interred

¹ *Anecdotes of Lord Chatham*, pp. 332, 335; *Malcolm*, p. 254.

N.



S

NORTH TRANSEPT.

in the centre of the North Transept, in a vault which eventually received his whole family.

Though men of all parties had concurred in decreeing posthumous honours to Chatham, his corpse was attended to the grave almost exclusively by opponents of the Government. The banner of the lordship of Chatham was borne by Colonel Barré, attended by the Duke of Richmond and Lord Rockingham. Burke, Saville, and Dunning upheld the pall. Lord Camden was conspicuous in the procession. The chief mourner was young William Pitt.¹

Such honours Ilium to her hero paid,
And peaceful slept the mighty Hector's shade.²

The North Transept 'has ever since been appropriated to statesmen, as the other transept to poets.' The words of Junius have been literally fulfilled: 'Recorded honours still gather round his monument, and thicken over him. It is a solid fabric, and will support the laurels that adorn it.'³

In no other cemetery do so many great citizens lie within so narrow a space. High over those venerable graves towers the stately monument of Chatham,⁴ and from above, his effigy, graven by a cunning hand, seems still, with eagle face and outstretched arm, to bid England be of good cheer, and to hurl defiance at her foes. The generation which reared that memorial of him has disappeared. And history, while, for the warning of vehement, high, and daring natures, she notes his many errors, will yet deliberately pronounce that, among the eminent men whose bones lie near his, scarcely one has left a more stainless, and none a more splendid name.⁵

Next in order of date, buried by his own desire 'privately in this cathedral, from the love he bore to 'the place of his early education,' is Lord Mansfield.⁶

Lord Mansfield, died March 20, buried March 28, 1793.

Here Murray, long enough his country's pride,
Is now no more than Tully or than Hyde.⁷

¹ Macaulay's *Essays*, vi. 229.

² His own last words, communicated to me by a friend, who heard them from the first Lord Sidmouth.

³ *Anecdotes of Chatham*, p. 379.—In the same vault are his wife and daughter (Lady Harriet Eliot), and the second Lord and Lady Chatham. His coffin was found turned over by the water thrown into the vault in the fire of 1806. Lady Harriet's death deeply affected her brother. (See *Life of Wilberforce*, i. 125, and Stanhope's *Life of Pitt*, i. 313.)

⁴ Bacon, the sculptor, also wrote the inscription. George III. approved it, but said, 'Now, Bacon, mind you don't turn author, but stick to your chisel.' (*Londiniana*, ii. 63.) The figure itself is suggested by Roubiliac's 'Eloquence' on the Argyll monument.

⁵ Macaulay's *Essays*.

⁶ It is copied from a portrait by Reynolds. His nephew (1796) was buried in the same vault.

⁷ 'Foretold by Pope, and fulfilled 'in the year 1793.' (Epitaph.) The passage is from Pope's *Epistles*—

Close behind the great judge stands the statue of the famous advocate, Sir William Follett. These are the sole representatives, in the Abbey, of the modern legal profession. But the direct succession of statesmen is immediately continued. The younger Pitt was buried in his father's vault. 'The sadness of the assistants was beyond that of ordinary mourners. For he whom they were committing to the dust had died of sorrows and anxieties of which none of the survivors could be altogether without a share. Wilberforce, who carried one of the banners before the hearse, described the awful ceremony with deep feeling. As the coffin descended into the earth, he said, the eagle face of Chatham seemed to look down with consternation into the dark home which was receiving all that remained of so much power and glory.'¹ Lord Wellesley, who was present, with his brother Arthur, already famous, spoke of the day with no less emotion. The herald pronounced over his grave, *Non sibi sed patriæ vixit*.

Sir W. W. Follett, died June 23, 1845.

Pitt and Fox.

William Pitt, died at Putney, Jan. 23, buried Feb. 22, 1806.

Charles Fox, died at Chislewick, Sept. 13, buried Oct. 10, 1806 (the anniversary of his first Westminster election).

There is but one entry in the Register between the burial of Pitt and the burial of Fox. They lie within a few feet of each other.

Here, where the end of earthly things
Lays heroes, patriots, bards, and kings,
Where stiff the hand and still the tongue
Of those who fought and spoke and sung;
Here, where the fretted aisles prolong
The distant notes of holy song,
As if some angel spoke agen,
'All peace on earth, goodwill to men'—
If ever from an English heart,
O here let prejudice depart . . .
For ne'er held marble in its trust
Of two such wondrous men the dust. . .
Genius and taste and talent gone,
For ever tomb'd beneath the stone,
Where—taming thought to human pride—
The mighty chiefs sleep side by side.
Drop upon Fox's grave the tear,
'Twill trickle to his rival's bier.

And what is fame? the meanest have their day;
The greatest can but blaze, and pass away.
Grac'd as thou art, with all the power of words,
So known, so honour'd, at the House of Lords:
Conspicuous scene! another yet is nigh
(More silent far), where kings and poets lie:

Where Murray (long enough his country's pride)
Shall be no more than Tully or than Hyde!

¹ Macaulay's *Essays*; Stanhope's *Pitt*, iv. 396; *Ann. Register*, 1806, p. 375; *Quart. Rev.* lvii. 492.

O'er Pitt's the mournful requiem sound,
 And Fox's shall the notes rebound.
 The solemn echo seems to cry—
 Here let their discord with them die;
 Speak not for those a separate doom,
 Whom Fate made brothers in the tomb !¹

Their monuments are far apart from their graves, but, by a singular coincidence, near to each other, so as to give the poet's lines a fresh application. Pitt stands in his robes of Chancellor of the Exchequer, over the west door of the Abbey, trampling on the French Revolution, in the attitude so well known by his contemporaries, 'drawing up' his haughty head, stretching out his arm with commanding 'gesture, and pouring forth the lofty language of inextinguishable hope.' Fox's monument, erected by his numerous private friends, originally near the North Transept, was removed to the side of Lord Holland's, in the north-west angle of the Nave. The figure of the Negro represents the prominence which the abolition of the slave-trade then occupied in the public mind.² This spot by the monuments of Fox and Holland, of Tierney, the soul of every opposition, and of Mackintosh,³ the cherished leader of philosophical and liberal thought, and the reformer of our criminal code, has been consecrated as the Whigs' Corner. The shock of Perceval's assassination is commemorated in the Nave. But the burials continued in the North Transept.⁴ Grattan had expressed to his friends his earnest desire ('Remember! remember!') to be buried in a retired churchyard at Moyanna, in Queen's County, on the estate given him by the Irish people. On his deathbed, in the midst of one of his impassioned exclamations about his country—'I stood up for Ireland, and I was right'—as his eye kindled and his countenance brightened, and his arm was raised with surprising firmness, he added, 'As to my grave, I wish to be laid in Moyanna: I had rather be buried there.' His friends told him that it was their intention to place him in West-

Monument
of Pitt.

Monument
of Fox.

THE WHIGS'
CORNER.

Lord
Holland,
died Oct. 27,
1840.
Tierney,
died 1830.
Mackintosh,
died 1832.
Perceval,
died May
11, 1812.
Grattan, died
June 10,
buried June
16, 1820.

¹ Scott's *Marmion*, Introduction to canto i.

² 'Liberty' lost her cap in the erection of the scaffolding for the coronation of Queen Victoria.

³ Buried at Hampstead, 1832. How well he knew and loved the Abbey

appears from the record of his walk round it with Maria Edgeworth. The inscription, added in 1867, is by his nephew Mr. Claude Erskine.

⁴ The first Lord Minto was buried here January 29, 1816.

minster Abbey.¹ 'Oh!' said he, 'that will not be thought of; 'I would rather have Moyanna.' On the request being urged again the next day from the Duke of Sussex, he gave way, and said, 'Well, Westminster Abbey.'² The children of the Roman Catholic charities were, at the request of the 'British 'Catholic Board,' who also attended, ranged in front of the west entrance, the Irish children habited in green. The coffin nearly touched the foot of the coffin of Fox, 'whom in life he 'so dearly valued, and near whom, in death, it would have 'been his pride to lie.'³

Here, near yon walls, so often shook
By the stern weight of his rebuke,
While bigotry with blanching brow
Heard him and blush'd, but would not bow,—
Here, where his ashes may fulfil
His country's cherish'd mission still,
There let him point his last appeal
Where statesmen and where kings will kneel;
His bones will warn them to be just,
Still pleading even from the dust.⁴

Castlereagh, Marquis of Londonderry, followed. The mingled feelings of consternation and of triumph, that were awakened in the Conservative and Liberal parties throughout Europe, by his sudden and terrible end, accompanied him to his grave. From his house in St. James's Square to the doors of the Abbey, 'the streets seemed 'to be paved with human heads.' The Duke of Wellington and Lord Eldon were deeply agitated. But when the hearse reached the western door, and the coffin was removed, 'a shout 'arose from the crowd, which echoed loudly through every 'corner of the 'Abbey.' Through the raging mob, and amidst

Castlereagh,
died Aug. 12,
1822, buried
Aug. 20,
1822.

¹ This was believed by the Irish patriots of that time to have been a stratagem of the English Government to restrain the enthusiasm which might have attended Grattan's funeral obsequies in his own country. Sir Jonah Barrington is furious at his being 'suffered to moulder in the same ground 'with his country's enemies. . . . Eng- 'land has taken away our Constitution, 'and even the relics of its founder are 'retained through the duplicity of his 'enemy' (Barrington's *Own Times*, i. 353-58). An Irish patriot of more recent date, by an excusable mistake, was led to confound the slab over

Grattan's grave with that of an ancient mediæval knight close adjoining, whose worn and shattered surface was thus supposed to represent the fallen greatness of Ireland. In fact, Grattan's slab is happily as whole and unbroken as any in the Abbey, being smaller and more compact than most of the grave-stones, in order to place it at the head of Fox's grave according to Grattan's desire.

² *Life of Grattan*, v. 545-53.

³ Preface to *Speeches of Grattan*, pp. lxi.-lxiii.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. lxxiii.

⁵ *Annual Register* (1822), p. 181.

shrieks and execrations, the mourners literally fought their way into the church; and it was not till the procession had effected its entrance, and the doors were closed, that a stillness succeeded within the building, the more affecting and solemn from the tumult which preceded it.¹ With this awful welcome the coffin moved on, and was deposited between the graves of Pitt and Fox. His rival and successor, George Canning, was not long behind him. On the day of the funeral, though the rain descended in torrents, the streets were crowded, and he was laid opposite the grave of Pitt.² His son, a stripling of sixteen, was present.

Canning,
died at
Chiswick,
Aug. 8,
buried Aug.
16, 1827.

When, on the sudden death of Sir Robert Peel, 'all London 'felt like one family,' the departed statesman had so expressly provided in his will, that he should be 'buried by the 'side of his father and mother at Drayton,' that the honoured grave in the Abbey was not sought. In its place was erected Gibson's statue of him, which still waits the inscription that shall record what he was.³

Peel, died
July 2, 1850,
buried at
Drayton.

His statue.

The closing scene of Lord Palmerston's octogenarian career was laid amongst the memorials of the numerous statesmen, friends or foes, with whom his public life had been spent. He lies opposite the statue of his first patron, Canning. As the coffin sank into the grave—amidst the circle of those who were to succeed to the new sphere left vacant by his death—a dark storm broke over the Abbey, in which, as in a black shroud, the whole group of mourners seemed to vanish from the sight, till the ray of the returning sun, as the service drew to its end, once more lighted up the gloom.

Palmerston,
died Oct. 18,
buried Oct.
27, 1865.

The Indian statesmen not unnaturally fell into the aisles of the same transept, which thus enfolds at once the earlier trophies of Indian warfare, and the first founders of the Indian Empire—Sir George Staunton, Sir John Malcolm, Sir Stamford Raffles, the younger Canning (laid beside his father), and an earlier, a greater, but a more ambiguous name than any of these—Warren Hastings. 'With all his faults, and they were neither

INDIAN
STATESMEN.

Staunton,
buried Jan.
23, 1801.
Malcolm,
died 1833.
Raffles, died
1826.
Earl
Canning,
buried June
21, 1862.

¹ From an eyewitness who beheld it from the organ loft.

² *Life of Canning*, p. 143.

³ Peel's name was first inscribed in 1866. Gibson refused to undertake the work unless he was allowed to adopt

the classical costume. (*Life of Gibson*, by Lady Eastlake, 90, which contains an able defence of his choice.) He had wished to have the statue placed in the Nave. But this was impossible.

'few nor small, only one cemetery was worthy to contain
'his remains. In that Temple of silence and reconcilia-
tion where the enmities of twenty generations lie
buried, in the Great Abbey which has during many
ages afforded a quiet resting-place to those whose
minds and bodies have been shattered by the
contentions of the Great Hall, the dust of the illustrious
accused should have mingled with the dust of the illustrious
accusers.'¹ Though this was not to be, and though his
remains lie by the parish church of his ancestral
Daylesford, his memorial² stands in the Abbey, which
had also been associated with his early years—with the days
when he was remembered by the poet Cowper as the active
Westminster boy, who had rowed on the Thames and played
in the Cloisters, amongst the scholars to whom he left the
magnificent cup which bears his name. It was whilst standing
before this bust that Macaulay received from Dean Milman,
then Prebendary of Westminster, the suggestion of writing
that essay, which has in our own days revived the fame of the
great proconsul.

Close by the monument of the stern ruler of India begins
the line of British philanthropists. It started with the tablet
of Jonas Hanway, whose motto, 'Never despair,' re-
calls his unexpected deliverance from his dangers in
Persia. Of the heroes of the abolition of the slave-
trade,³ Clarkson alone is absent. Granville Sharp
has his memorial in Poets' Corner, Zachary Macau-
lay⁴ in the Whigs' Corner of the Nave. Wilberforce
was, at the requisition of Lord Brougham,⁵ buried,
with the attendance of both Houses of Parliament,
amongst his friends in the North Transept with whom he
had fought the same good fight; and his statue
sits nearly side by side with Fowell Buxton in the
North Aisle. In later times and in a more philo-
sophic vein, in the same corner of the church, follow
the cenotaphs—all striking likenesses of men prema-
turely lost—of Francis Horner,⁶ the founder of our modern

Warren
Hastings,
died Aug.
22, 1818;
buried at
Daylesford.

His bust,
erected 1819.

PHILAN- THROPISTS.

Jonas Han-
way, 1786.
Granville
Sharp, 1818.
Zachary
Macaulay,
May 18, 1838.
Wilberforce,
died July 29,
buried Aug.
3, 1833.

Buxton, died
Feb. 19, 1846,
buried at
Overstrand.
Horner,
buried at
Leghorn,
1817.

¹ Macaulay's *Essays*, iii. 465.

² By Bacon, erected 1819. (Chap-
ter Book, June 3, 1819.)

³ A monument of the same cause
has been raised outside the Abbey by
Charles Buxton.

⁴ The epitaph was written by Sir
James Stephen, and corrected by Sir
Fowell Buxton.

⁵ *Life of Wilberforce*, v. 373.

⁶ His statue is one of Chantrey's

economical and financial policy; Charles Buller,¹ the genial advocate of our colonial interests; Cornewall Lewis, indefatigable and judicial alike as scholar and as statesman; and Richard Cobden,² the successful champion of Free Trade. In the Nave is the inscription which marks the spot where for a month rested the remains of George Peabody, who had desired to express his gratitude to God for the blessings heaped upon him, by 'doing some great good' to his fellowmen.

Buller, died Nov. 28, 1848, buried at Kensal Green.
Lewis, died 1863, buried at Old Radnor.
Cobden, died April 2, 1865, buried at West Lavington.
George Peabody, 1876.

We now pass to the other side of the Abbey for another line of worthies, which has a longer continuity than any other; beginning under the Plantagenet dynasty, and reviving again and again, with renewed freshness, in each successive reign—

POETS' CORNER.

Till distant warblings fade upon my ear,
And lost in long futurity expire.

The Southern Transept,³ hardly known by any other name but 'Poets' Corner'—the most familiar⁴ though not the most august or sacred spot in the whole Abbey—derives the origin of its peculiar glory, like the Northern Transept at a much later period, from a single tomb. Although it is by a royal affinity that

These poets near our princes sleep,
And in one grave their mansion keep,⁵

the first beginning of the proximity was from a homelier cause. We have already traced the general beginning of the private monuments to Richard II. It is from him, also indirectly, that the poetical monuments take their rise. In 1389 the office of Clerk of the Royal Works in the Palaces of Westminster and Windsor was vacant. Possibly from his services to the Royal

best works. The epitaph is by Sir Henry Englefield.

¹ His epitaph is by Lord Houghton.

² The framer of an earlier commercial treaty, Sir Paul Methuen, was buried in the Abbey in 1757, in the grave of his father, John Methuen, to whom there is a monument in the S. aisle of the Nave.

³ A stained window has been recently placed at the entrance of this transept, with David, and St. John in the Apocalypse, as representing the

poets of the Old and of the New Testament.

⁴ 'I have always observed that the visitors to the Abbey remain longest about the simple memorials in Poets' Corner. A kinder and fonder feeling takes the place of that cold curiosity or vague admiration with which they gaze on the splendid monuments of the great and the heroic. They linger about these as about the tombs of friends and companions.' (Washington Irving's *Sketch Book*, p. 216.)

⁵ Denham, on Cowley.

Family,¹ possibly from Richard's well-known patronage of the arts, the selection fell on Geoffrey Chaucer. He retained the post only for twenty months. But it ^{CHAUCER.} probably gave him a place in the Royal Household, which was not forgotten at his death. After the fall of Richard, 'when 'Chaucer's hairs were gray, and the infirmities of age pressed 'heavily upon him, he found himself compelled to come to 'London for the arrangement of his affairs.' There is still preserved a lease, granted to him by the keeper of the Lady Chapel of the Abbey, which makes over to him a tenement in the garden attached to that building,² on the ground now covered by the enlarged Chapel of Henry VII. In this house he died, on October 25, in the last year of the fourteenth century, uttering, it is said, 'in the ^{Death of Chaucer, Oct. 25, 1400.} 'great anguish of his deathbed,' the 'good counsel' which closes with the pathetic words—

Here is no home, here is but wilderness.
Forth, pilgrim ; forth, O beast, out of thy stall !
Look up on high, and thank thy God of all.
Control thy lust ; and let thy spirit thee lead ;
And Truth thee shall deliver ; 'tis no dread.³

Probably from the circumstance of his dying so close at hand, combined with the royal favour, still continued by Henry IV., he was brought to the Abbey, and buried, where the ^{His burial.} functionaries of the monastery were beginning to be interred, at the entrance of St. Benedict's Chapel. There was nothing to mark the grave except a plain slab, which was sawn up when Dryden's monument was erected, and a leaden plate on an adjacent pillar, hung there, it is conjectured, by Caxton, with an inscription by 'a poet laureate,' Surigonus of Milan.⁴ It was not till the reign of Edward VI. that ^{Monument of Chaucer, 1561.} the present tomb, to which apparently the poet's ashes were removed, was raised, near the grave, by Nicholas Brigham, himself a poet, who was buried close beside, with his daughter Rachel.⁵ The inscription closes with an echo of the poet's own expiring counsel, '*Ærumnarum requies mora.*' Originally the back of the tomb contained a portrait of

¹ Godwin's *Life of Chaucer*, ii. 498.

² Ibid. ii. 549, 641.

³ Ibid. ii. 553, 555.

⁴ Galfridus Chaucer, vates et famâ
poesis,

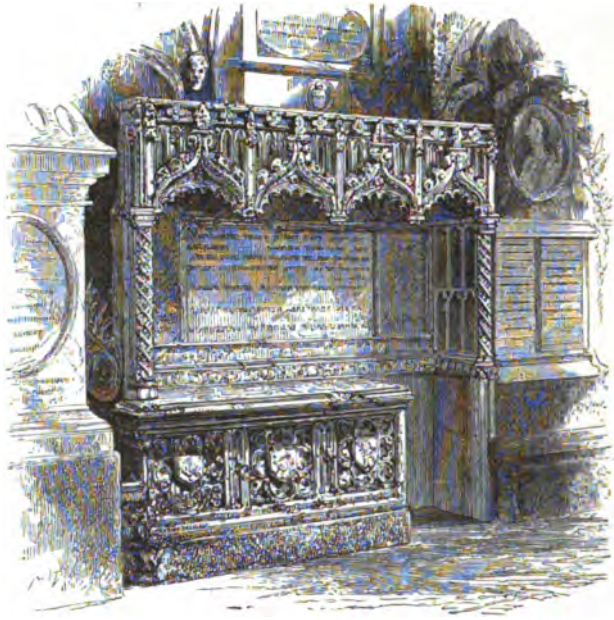
Maternâ hâc sacrâ sum tumu-
latus humo.'

(Winstanley's *Worthies*, p. 94.) It has long since disappeared. (See Godwin, i. 5.)

⁵ Dart, ii. 61.

Chaucer.¹ The erection of the monument so long afterwards shows how freshly the fame of Chaucer then flourished, and accordingly, within the next generation, it became the point of attraction to the hitherto unexampled burst of poets in the Elizabethan age. The first was Spenser. His interment in the Abbey was perhaps suggested by the fact that his death took place close by, in King Street,

Spenser, died
Jan. 16, 1599.



CHAUCER'S MONUMENT.

Westminster. But it was distinctly in his poetical character that he received the honours of a funeral from *His funeral.* Devereux, Earl of Essex. His hearse was attended by poets, and mournful elegies and poems, with the pens that wrote them, were thrown into his tomb. What a funeral was that at which Beaumont, Fletcher, Jonson, and, in all probability, Shakspeare attended!—what a grave in which the pen of Shakspeare may be mouldering away! In the original in-

¹ A painted window above the tomb, with medallions of Chaucer and Gower, and with scenes from Chaucer's life and poems, presented by Dr.

Rogers, designed by Mr. Waller, and executed by Messrs. Baillie and Raye, supplied this loss in 1868.

scription, long ago effaced, the vicinity to Chaucer was expressly stated as the reason for the selection of the spot—

Hic prope Chaucerum situs est Spenserius, illi
Proximus ingenio, proximus et tumulo.¹

The actual monument was erected by Nicholas Stone, at the cost² of Ann Clifford, Countess of Dorset, the great ‘restorer of waste places,’ and afterwards repaired through His monument, erected 1620, restored 1778. Mason the poet.³ The inscription, in pathos and simplicity, is worthy of the author of the ‘Faery Queen,’ but curious as implying the unconsciousness of any greater than he, at that very time, to claim the title then given him of ‘the Prince of Poets.’ ‘The great Spenser keeps the entry of the Church, in a plain stone tomb, but his works are more glorious than all the marble and brass monuments within.’⁴

The neighbourhood to Chaucer, thus emphatically marked as the cause of Spenser’s grave, is noticed again and again at each successive interment. Beaumont was the next. He lies still nearer to Chaucer,⁵ under a nameless stone; and immediately afterwards came the cry and counter-cry over the ashes of another, who died within the next year, both suggested by the close contiguity of these poetic graves:

Renowned Spenser, lie a thought more nigh
To learned Chaucer : and, rare Beaumont, lie
A little nearer Spenser, to make room
For Shakspeare in your threefold fourfold tomb.⁶

To which Ben Jonson replies :

My Shakspeare, rise, I will not lodge thee by
Chaucer or Spenser, or bid Beaumont lie
A little farther off to make thee room.
Thou art a monument without a tomb,
And art alive still while thy book doth live,
And we have wits to read, and praise to give.

¹ Camden. See also Winstanley’s *Worthies*, p. 97 :—

Dan Chaucer, well of English undefiled,
On Fame’s eternal bead-roll to be filed,
I follow here the footing of thy feet
That with thy meaning so I may the rather meet.

² £40. (Walpole’s *Anecdotes of Painting*, 241.)

³ He raised a subscription for ‘restoring it in durable marble instead

‘of mouldering freestone, correcting the mistaken dates, and including it in an iron rail.’ (Chapter Book, April 13, 1778.)

⁴ Tom Brown, iii. 228.

⁵ At the entrance of St. Benedict’s Chapel. (Register.) Fletcher is buried in St. Mary Overies, Southwark.

⁶ Basse’s *Elegy on Shakspeare* (1633).

In fact, the attempt was never made. Whether it was prevented by the Poet's own anathema on any one who should 'move his bones or dig his dust,' or by the imperfect recognition of his greatness, in Stratford he still lies; and not for another century was the statue raised¹ which His monument, erected 1740. now stands in the adjacent aisle, by the same designer who planned the monument of Newton,² to become the centre of the meditations of Poets, and of the tombs of Actors.

Next followed—such was the inequality of fortune—Drayton, of whom, after the lapse of not much more than a hundred years, Goldsmith, in his visit to the Abbey, could say, Michael Drayton, died 1631. when he saw his monument, 'Drayton! I never heard 'of him before.' Indeed it was the common remark of London gossips—Drayton 'with half a nose, was next, whose works are 'forgotten before his monument is worn out.'³ But at the time the 'Polyolbion' was regarded as a masterpiece of art.

His grave. It is probable that he was buried near the small north door of the Nave.⁴ But his bust was erected here by the same great lady who raised that to Spenser. Fuller, in his quaint manner, again revives their joint connection with the grave of their predecessor:—'Chaucer lies buried in the south 'aisle of St. Peter's, Westminster, and now hath got the 'company of Spenser and Drayton, a pair royal of poets 'enough almost to make passengers' feet to move metrically, 'who go over the place where so much poetical dust is in- 'terred.'⁵ How little the verdict of Goldsmith was then anticipated appears from the fine lines on Drayton's monument, ascribed both to Ben Jonson and to Quarles, which, in invoking 'the pious marble' to protect his memory, predict that when its

Ruin shall disclaim
To be the treasurer of his fame,
His name, that cannot fade, shall be
An everlasting monument to thee.

Ben Jonson—who, if so be, speaks on this bust of Drayton's exchanging his laurel for a crown of glory, but who was, in

¹ Fuller's *Worthies* (iii. 288) makes his body to have been buried near his monument.

² See p. 294. Home (the author of the tragedy of Douglas), wrote on it in pencil some verses expressive of his

disappointment at the first failure of his play. (*Life*, p. 31.)

³ Tom Brown, iii. 228.

⁴ Heylin, who was present, and Aubrey (*Lives*, 335).

⁵ Fuller, *History*, A.D. 1631.

fact, the first unquestionable laureate—soon followed. Both his youth and age were connected with Westminster. ^{Ben Jonson, died Aug. 16, 1637.} He was born in the neighbourhood, he was educated in the School, and his last years were spent close to the Abbey, in a house that once stood between it and St. Margaret's Church.¹ This renders probable the story of his selecting his own grave, where it was afterwards dug, ^{Ben Jonson's grave.} not far from Drayton's. According to the local tradition, he asked the King (Charles I.) to grant him a favour. 'What 'is it?' said the King.—'Give me eighteen inches of square ground.' 'Where?' asked the King.—'In Westminster Abbey.' This is one explanation given of the story that he was buried standing upright. Another is that it was with a view to his readiness for the Resurrection. 'He lies buried in 'the north aisle [of the Nave], in the path of square stone [the 'rest is lozenge], opposite to the scutcheon of Robertus de 'Ros, with this inscription only on him, in a pavement-square 'of blue marble, about fourteen inches square,

'O rare Ben Johnson!''²

Inscription.

'which was done at the charge of Jack Young (afterwards 'knighted), who, walking there when the grave was covering, 'gave the fellow eighteenpence to cut it.'³ This stone was taken up when, in 1821, the Nave was repaved, and was brought back from the stoneyard of the clerk of the works, in the time of Dean Buckland, by whose order it was fitted into its present place in the north wall of the Nave. Meanwhile, the original spot had been marked by a small triangular lozenge, with a copy of the old inscription. When, in 1849, Sir Robert Wilson was buried close by, the loose sand of Jonson's grave (to use the expression of the clerk of the works who superintended the operation) 'rippled in like a quicksand,' and the clerk 'saw the 'two leg-bones of Jonson, fixed bolt upright in the sand, as 'though the body had been buried in the upright position; and 'the skull came rolling down among the sand, from a position 'above the leg-bones, to the bottom of the newly-made grave. 'There was still hair upon it, and it was of a red colour.' It was seen once more on the digging of John Hunter's grave;

¹ Malone's *Historical Account of the English Stage*; Fuller's *Worthies*, ii. 426; Aubrey's *Lives*, 414. gravestone, as also in Clarendon's *Life* (i. 34), where see his character.

² Aubrey's *Lives*, 414. His burial

³ He is called *Johnson* on the is not in the Register.

and 'it had still traces of red hair upon it.'¹ The world long wondered that 'he should lie buried from the rest of the poets 'and want' a tomb.' This monument, in fact, was to have been erected by subscription soon after his death, but was delayed by the breaking out of the Civil War. The present medallion in Poets' Corner was set up in the middle of the last century by 'a person of quality, whose name was desired to be 'concealed.' By a mistake of the sculptor, the buttons were set on the left side of the coat. Hence this epigram—

O rare Ben Jonson—what a turncoat grown!
Thou ne'er wast such, till clad in stone:
Then let not this disturb thy sprite,
Another age shall set thy buttons right.²

Apart from the other poets, under the tomb of Henry V., is Sir³ Robert Ayton, secretary to the two Queens consort of the time, and friend of Ben Jonson, Drummond, and the then youthful Hobbes. He is the first Scottish poet buried here, and claims a place from his being the first in whose verses appears the 'Auld Lang Syne.' His bust is by Farelli, from a portrait by Vandyck.

Robert
Ayton, Feb.
28, 1637-8.

There is a pause in the succession during the troubled times of the Civil Wars.⁴ May, who had unsuccessfully competed with the wild Cavalier Sir William Davenant for the laureateship, and, according to Clarendon, on that account thrown himself into the Parliamentary cause, was buried here as poet and historian under the Commonwealth. But his vacant grave, after the disinterment of his remains, received his rival Davenant, connected with the two greatest of English poetical names—with Shakspeare by the tradition of the Stratford player's intimacy with his mother, and with Milton by the protection which he first received from him, and afterwards procured for him, in their respective reverses.⁵ His funeral was conducted with the pomp due to a laureate, though, to the great grief of Anthony Wood, 'the wreath was forgot

Thomas May,
died 1680,
disinterred
1681.

William
Davenant,
April 8,
1668.

His funeral.

¹ For full details, see Mr. Frank Buckland's interesting narrative in *Curiosities of Natural History* (3rd series), ii. 181-189. It would seem that, in spite of some misadventures, the skull still remains in the grave.

² *London Spy*, p. 179.

³ Seymour's *Story*, ii. 512, 513.

⁴ For a full account of him, see *Transactions of Historical Society*, i. pt. 6, pp. 113-220.

⁵ For May see Clarendon's *Life*, i. 39, 40; and for an indignant Royalist epitaph, the Appendix to Crull, p. 46.

⁶ Malone's *History of the Stage*.

'that should have been put on the coffin'¹ of walnut wood, which, according to Denham, was the 'finest coffin he had ever seen.'² Pepys, who was present, thought that the 'many hackneys made it look like the funeral of a poor poet. He seemed to have many children, by five or six in the first mourning coach.'³ On his grave⁴ was repeated the inscription of Ben Jonson, 'O rare Sir William Davenant!'

In the preceding year three poets had been laid in the Abbey—two of transitory name, the third with the grandest obsequies that Poets' Corner ever witnessed. In March was buried in the North Transept Dr. W. Johnson, W. Johnson, buried March 12, 1666-7.

'Delight of the Muses and Graces, often shipwrecked, at length rests in this harbour, and his soul with God; whose saying was—God WITH US.'⁵ In July the South Transept received Sir Robert Stapleton, a staunch Royalist, though a Protestant convert, translator of Musæus and Juvenal.⁶ But at the end of that month, Sir Robert Stapleton, buried July 15, 1669.

Abraham Cowley died at Chertsey, which when Charles II. heard, he said, 'Mr. Cowley has not left a better man in England.' Evelyn was at his burial, Abraham Cowley, died July 28, buried Aug. 3, 1667.

though 'he sneaked from Church,' and describes the hundred coaches of noblemen, bishops, clergy, and all the wits of the town; and adds, still harping on the local fitness, he was buried 'next Geoffrey Chaucer,' and near Spenser'—near the poet whose 'Faery Queen,' before he was twelve years, 'filled his head with such chimes of verses as never since

'left ringing there.' The urn was erected by George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham. The inscription—which compares him to Pindar, Virgil, and Horace, and which, for its Pagan phraseology, could never His funeral.

be read by Dr. Johnson without indignation—was by Dean Sprat, his biographer. How deeply fixed was the sense of his fame appears from the lines, striking even in their exaggeration, which, speaking of his burial, describe, with the recollection of the great conflagration still fresh, that the best The urn.

¹ *Ant. Op.* ii. 165.

² Aubrey's *Lives*, 309. He was present.

³ Pepys's *Correspondence*, iv. 90.

⁴ 'Near the vestry door.' (Register.)

⁵ 'Near to the monument of Dr. Barrow.' (Aubrey's *Lives*, 309.) The stone was broken up, but was replaced in 1866.

⁶ Died March 4, 1666; 'Subalmoner, buried near the Convocation door,'

west side of North Cross, March 12, 1666-67. (Crull, p. 280; Register.)

⁷ Died July 11, 1669; was buried in South Transept near the western door, July 15. Register. (Reymour's *Stow*, ii. 556; Dart, ii. 62.)

⁸ 'Mr. Cowly, a famous poet, was buried near to Chaucer's monument.' (Register.)

security for Westminster Abbey was that it held the grave of Cowley;¹

That sacrilegious fire (which did last year
Level those piles which Piety did rear)
Dreaded near that majestic church to fly,
Where English kings and English poets lie.
It at an awful distance did expire,
Such pow'r had sacred ashes o'er that fire;
Such as it durst not near that structure come
Which fate had order'd to be Cowley's tomb;
And 'twill be still preserved, by being so,
From what the rage of future flames can do.
Material fire dares not that place infest,
Where he who had immortal flame does rest.
There let his urn remain, for it was fit
Among our kings to lay the King of Wit.
By which the structure more renown'd will prove
For that part bury'd than for all above.²

But the most effective glorification at once of Cowley and of Poets' Corner was that which came from his friend Sir John Denham, who, within a few months, was laid by his side, in the ground which he knew so well how to appreciate, and who, after describing how

John
Denham,
March 28,
1688-9.

Old Chaucer, like the morning star, to us discovers day from far;
how—

Next, like Aurora, Spenser rose, whose purple blush the day
foreshows;

how Shakspeare, Jonson, Fletcher,

With their own fires,
Phœbus, the poet's god, inspires;

and then curses the fatal hour that in Cowley

Pluck'd

The fairest, sweetest flow'r that in the Muses' garden grew.³

If the fame of Cowley has now passed away, it is not so with the poet who, like him, was educated⁴ under the shadow of the Abbey, and was laid beside him. Convert as Dryden had become to the Church of Rome, and power-

John
Dryden,
died May 1,
1700.

¹ Pepys, iii. 325, v. 24.

² *British Poets*, v. 213.

³ 'On Mr. Abraham Cowley's Death and Burial among the Ancient Poets.' (*British Poets*, v. 214.)

⁴ The name of 'J. Dryden' is still to be seen carved on a bench in Westminster School, in the characters of the time, though not in Dryden's own orthography.

fully as he had advocated the claims of the 'Hind' against the 'Panther,' Sprat (who was Dean at the time), as soon as he heard of his death), undertook to remit all the fees, and offered himself to perform the rites of interment in the Abbey. Lord Halifax offered to pay the expenses of the funeral, with £500 for a monument. It is difficult to know how to treat the strange story of the infamous practical jest by which the son of Lord Jeffreys broke up the funeral on the pretext of making it more splendid; the indignation of the Dean, who had 'the Abbey lighted, the ground opened, the Choir attending, an anthem ready set, and himself waiting without a corpse to bury;' and the anger of the poet's son, who watched till the death of Jeffries, with 'the utmost application,' for an opportunity of revenge.¹ At any rate, twelve days after Dryden's death, his 'deserving reliques' were lodged in the College of Physicians. There a Latin eulogy was pronounced by Sir Samuel Garth, himself at once a poet and physician, and also wavering between scepticism and Roman Catholicism: and thence 'an abundance of quality in their coaches and six horses'² accompanied the hearse with funeral music, singing the ode of Horace, *Ezegi monumentum ære perennius*;³ and the Father, as he has been called, of modern English Poetry, was laid almost in the very sepulchre⁴ of the Father of ancient English Poetry, whose grave-stone was actually sawn asunder to make room for his monument. That monument was long delayed. But so completely had his grave come to be regarded as the most interesting spot in Poets' Corner, that Pope, in writing the epitaph for Rowe, could pay him no higher honour than to show how his monument pointed the way to Dryden's:⁵

Dryden's
funeral, May
13, 1700.

His grave.

Thy reliques, Rowe, to this fair urn we trust,
And, sacred, place by Dryden's awful dust.
Beneath a rude and nameless stone he lies,
To which thy tomb shall guide inquiring eyes.⁶

The 'rude and nameless stone' roused the attention of

¹ Johnson's *Lives*, iii. 367-69. The story is partly confirmed by the *London Spy*, p. 417.

² *London Spy* (p. 418), who saw it from Chancery Lane (p. 424).

³ *Postman and Postbag*, May 14, 1700.

⁴ 'Mr. Dryden is lately dead, who will be buried in Chaucer's grave,

'and have his monument erected by Lord Dorset and Lord Montagu.' (Peppys's *Correspondence*, v. 321.)

⁵ 'At Chaucer's feet, without any name, lies John Dryden his admirer, and truly the English Maro.' (Tom Brown, iii. 228.)

⁶ Pope, iii. 369.

Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, who in consequence raised the present monument. For the inscription Pope and Atterbury were long in earnest correspondence:

His monu-
ment.

What do you think [says Atterbury] of some such short inscription as this in Latin, which may, in a few words, say all that is to be said of Dryden, and yet nothing more than he deserves?—

The inscrip-
tion.

IOHANNI DRYDENO,
CVI POESIS ANGLICANA
VIM SVAM AC VENERES DEBET;
ET SI QVA IN POSTERVM AVGBITVR LAVDE,
EST ADHVC DEBITVRA:
HONORIS ERGO P. etc.

To show you that I am as much in earnest in the affair as yourself, something I will send you too of this kind in English. If your design holds of fixing Dryden's name only below, and his busto above, may not lines like these be graved just under the name?—

This Sheffield rais'd, to Dryden's ashes just,
Here fixed his name, and there his laurel'd bust;
What else the Muse in marble might express,
Is known already; praise would make him less.

Or thus?

More needs not; where acknowledg'd merits reign,
Praise is impertinent, and censure vain.¹

Pope improved upon these suggestions, and finally wrote—

This Sheffield raised: the sacred dust below
Was Dryden's once—the rest who does not know?

This was afterwards altered into the present plain inscription; and the bust erected by the Duke was exchanged for a finer one by Scheemakers, put up by the Duchess, with a pyramid behind it.² So the monument remained till our own day, when Dean Buckland, with the permission of the surviving representative of the poet, Sir Henry Dryden, removed all except the simple bust and pedestal.

Bust of
Shadwell,
buried at
Chelsea,
Nov. 24,
1692.

Opposite Dryden's monument is the bust of his forgotten rival, and victim of his bitterest satire:

Others to some faint meaning make pretence,
But Shadwell never deviates into sense.

¹ Pope, ix. 199.

² Akerman, ii. 89.

Dryden's son had intended a longer inscription,¹ but Sprat suppressed it, on the ground of an exception which some of the clergy had made to it, as 'being too great an encomium on 'plays to be set up in a church.' Not in Poets' Corner, but near the steps leading to the Confessor's Chapel, was buried, Jan. 24, 1684-5, Lord Roscommon,

In all Charles's days,
Roscommon only boasts unspotted lays.

His last words were from his own translation of the 'Dies Iræ :'

My God, my Father, and my Friend,
Do not forsake me in my end.

These names close the seventeenth century and begin the eighteenth. Another race appears, of whom the monuments follow in quick succession. By his connection with Westminster School, by his friendship with Montagu and Prior, by his diplomatic honours, rather than by his verses, George Stepney,²—who was thought by his contemporaries 'a much greater man' than Sir Cloudesley Shovel,³ and 'whose juvenile compositions' were then believed to have 'made gray-headed authors blush,'⁴—has his bust and grave just outside the Transept. But within, on the right of Chaucer's tomb, is the monument of John Philips, erected by his friend Sir Simon Harcourt, and claiming in its inscription to close the south side of the Father of English Poetry, as Cowley closes the north. His 'Splendid 'Shilling' and 'Cyder' are now amongst the forgotten curiosities of literature. But his epitaph has a double interest. With its wreath of apples (*Honos erit huic quoque pomo*), it recounts his celebrity at that time as the master, almost the inventor, of the difficult art of blank verse, and it also indicates the gradual rise of another fame far greater. Philips himself had been devoted to Milton's poems, as models for his own feeble imitations; and the partial patron who composed the inscription on his tomb has declared that in this field he was second to Milton alone: '*Uni Milto secundus primoque pœne par.*' It is disputed whether Smalridge, Freind, or Atterbury was the author. If (as is most probable) Atterbury, the em-

George
Stepney,
Sept. 22,
1707.

John Philips,
died and
buried at
Hereford,
1708.

Monument
of Philips.

¹ Crull, ii. 42, where it is given.

² One of his poems relates to the Abbey—his elegy on the funeral of Mary II., in whom he had hoped

'With heighten'd reverence to have seen
'The hoary grandeur of an aged Queen.'

³ Dart, ii. 83.

⁴ Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*.

phasis laid on Philips's proficiency is the expression of his own partiality 'against rhyme and in behalf of blank verse'—'without the least prejudice, being himself equally incapable of writing in either of those ways.'¹ The antiquary Crull happened to be copying the inscription, and he had nearly reached these lines, when he was told, 'by a person of quality,' to desist from what he was about, for that there 'was an alteration to be made.' Crull put up his papers, and pretended to leave. 'My Lord went out,' and Crull immediately returned, and was informed that these lines were to be erased, and that 'his Lordship' (Bishop Sprat, then Dean) 'had forbidden the cutting of them.' Crull 'was the more eagerly resolved to finish the inscription,' 'as it was originally composed by the learned Dr. Smalridge.'² The next day he found the two lines wholly obliterated. The objection was not, as might have been supposed, to their intrinsic absurdity, but because the Royalist Dean would not allow the name of the regicide Milton to be engraved on the walls of Westminster Abbey.³ Another four years and the excommunication was removed. Atterbury—whose love for Milton⁴ was stronger even than his legitimist principles, and who, in his last farewell⁵ to the Westminster scholars, vented his grief in the pathetic lines which close the 'Paradise Lost'—was now Dean, and the obnoxious lines were admitted within the walls of the Abbey. Another four years yet again, and the criticism in the 'Spectator' had given expression to the irresistible feeling of admiration growing in every English heart. 'Such was the change of public opinion,'⁶ said Dr. Gregory to Dr. Johnson, 'that I have seen erected in the church a bust of that man whose name I once knew considered as a pollution of its walls.' It is indeed a triumph of the force of truth and genius, such as of itself hallows the place which has witnessed it. And if this late

Milton,
died 1674,
buried in
St. Giles's,
Cripplegate,

Monument
erected,
1737.

¹ Pope, viii. 188.

² Crull, pp. 343, 345.

³ 'Un nommé Miltonus, qui s'est rendu plus infâme par ses dangereux écrits que les bourreaux et les assassins de leur roi.' (French Ambassador in App. to Pepys's *Correspondence*, v. 452.)

⁴ See Atterbury's remarks on the French translation of 'Paradise Lost.' (*Letters*, iv. 229.)

⁵ See Chapter VI. See also his let-

ters to Pope. (Pope, viii. 233.)

⁶ A curious instance of the change is given in the successive editions of Sheffield's *Essay on Poetry*. In the first edition the epic poet

'Must above Milton's lofty flights prevail,
'Succeed where great Torquato and where greater Spenser fall.'

In the last—

'Must above Tasso's lofty flights prevail,
'Succeed where Spenser and *et* Milton fall.'

(Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*, ii. 155.)

testimony was rendered to Milton (as a like late acknowledgment had a few years¹ before been rendered to Samuel Butler, the author of 'Hudibras') not, as in the case of Spenser, Cowley, and Dryden, by dukes and duchesses, but by an obscure citizen of London,² the fact, so far from deserving the cynical remarks of Pope, only adds to the interest, by the proof afforded of the wide and (as it were) subterraneous diffusion of the fame of the once neglected poet, who, though 'fallen on evil days,' at last received his reward. Probably it was this stimulus which roused the public subscription for the statue of Shakspeare, which in 1740 was finally erected with the inscription from the 'Tempest,' which certainly well fits its application under the shadow of the 'cloudcapt towers, the 'gorgeous palaces, and the solemn temples' of Westminster.

Samuel Butler, died 1680, buried in Covent Garden churchyard; monument erected, 1783.

Of Shakspeare, 1740.

It is curious to mark how immediately these new objects of interest draw to their neighbourhood the lesser satellites of fame. Nicholas Rowe, poet-laureate and translator of Lucan, was buried here by Atterbury, from his feeling for his old schoolfellow.³ His monument, which Pope had designed to act as a conductor to the tomb of Dryden,⁴ by the time that it was erected claimed kindred with this mightier brother of the art—

Nicholas Rowe, buried Dec. 19, 1718.

Thy reliques, Rowe, to this sad shrine we trust,
And near thy *Shakspeare*⁵ place thy honour'd dust.

Peace to thy gentle shade, and endless rest,
Blest in thy genius, in thy love too blest !

Its conclusion had originally stood, before Buckingham had erected the tomb to Dryden—

One grateful woman to thy fame supplies
What a whole thankless land to his denies.

¹ William Longueville, of the Inner Temple, patron of Butler, who vainly endeavoured to provide for his friend's interment in the Abbey, was himself buried in the North Ambulatory, 1720.

² Benson, the auditor, erected the monument to Milton in 1737; Barber, the printer, and Lord Mayor of London, that to Butler in 1732.

³ On poets' tombs see Benson's titles writ,

is Pope's line in the 'Dunciad;' and when asked for an inscription for

Shakspeare's monument, he suggested

'Thus Britons love me, and preserve my fame,
'Free from a Barber's or a Benson's name.'

⁴ *Biog. Brit.* v. 3522.

⁵ See p. 259.

⁶ There was a propriety in this allusion from Rowe's plays—especially *Jane Shore*, 'perhaps the best acting 'tragedy after Shakspeare's days.' Dean Milman told me that Mrs. Siddons used to say that one line in *Jane Shore* was the most effective she ever uttered —'Twas he—'twas Hastings.'

It now commemorates the grief of the poet's wife—

And blest that, timely from our scene remov'd,
Thy soul enjoys the liberty it lov'd.
To thee, so mourn'd in death, so lov'd in life,
The childless parent and the widow'd wife
With tears inscribes this monumental stone,
That holds thine ashes and expects her own.¹

And this, in turn, was falsified by the remarriage of the widow (whose effigy surmounts the bust) to Colonel Deane.

Three dubious names close this period. In Poets' Corner lies the old voluptuary patriarch of Charles II.'s wits, St. Evremond, Governor of Duck Island, who died beyond the age of 90. Although a Frenchman and, nominally at least, a Roman Catholic, he was buried amongst the English poets, and, in spite of his questionable writings, was commemorated here, '*inter præstantiores ævi sui scriptores.*'² Aphara Behn,³ the notorious novelist, happily has not reached beyond the East Cloister. Her epitaph ran—

Here lies a proof that wit can never be
Defence enough against mortality.

Beside her lies her facetious friend, the scandalous satirist and essayist, Tom Brown, who had defiled and defied the Abbey during his whole literary life. The inscription prepared for him has by this juxtaposition a meaning which Dr. Drake, its author, never intended—*Inter concelebres requiescit.*⁴

Next came the age of the 'Tatler' and 'Spectator.' Steele, editor of the first, is buried at his seat near Carmarthen.

His second wife, 'his dearest Prue,' is laid amongst the poets.⁵ But the great funeral of this circle is that of Addison. The last serene moments of his

¹ Pope, iii. 365.

² St. Evremond 'died renouncing the Christian religion. Yet the Church of Westminster thought fit to give 'his body room in the Abbey, and to 'allow him to be buried there gratis.' The monument was erected by one of the Prebendaries, Dr. Birch, 'on 'account of the old acquaintance between St. Evremond and his patron 'Waller.' Such is the cynical account of Atterbury. (*Letters*, iii. 117, 125.)

³ In the Register she is called 'Astrea

'Behn,' as in Pope's line—'The stage 'how loosely does Astrea tread!'

⁴ Crull, p. 346. Mr. Lodge has suggested to me that his burial at Westminster is in some degree explained, or at least illustrated, by the fact that he was chosen to write the inscription on Bishop Fell's monument in Christ Church, Oxford (Brown's *Works*, iv. 255, 7th ed.), which was the more remarkable as coming from the author of the famous epigram on Dr. Fell.

⁵ For their correspondence see Thackeray's *Humourists* (pp. 137-46).

life were at Warwick House. 'See how a Christian can 'die.'

His body lay in state in the Jerusalem Chamber, and was borne thence to the Abbey at dead of night. The choir sang a funeral hymn. Bishop Atterbury, one of those Tories who had loved and honoured the most accomplished of the Whigs, met the corpse, and led the procession by torchlight, round the shrine of St. Edward and the graves of the Plantagenets, to the Chapel of Henry VII.¹

The spot selected was the vault in the north aisle of that Chapel, in the eastern recess² of which already lay the coffins of Monk and his wife, Montague Earl of Sandwich, and the two Halifaxes. Craggs was to follow within a year. Into that recess, doubtless in order to rest by the side of his patron, Montague Earl of Halifax, the coffin of Addison was lowered. At the head of the vault, Atterbury officiated as Dean, in his prelate's robes. Round him stood the Westminster scholars, with their white tapers, dimly lighting up the fretted aisle. One³ of them has left on record the deep impression left on them by the unusual energy and solemnity of Atterbury's sonorous voice. Close by was the faithful friend of the departed—Tickell, who has described the scene in poetry yet more touching than Macaulay's prose:—

Can I forget the dismal night that gave
My soul's best part for ever to the grave?
How silent did his old companions tread,
By midnight lamps, the mansions of the dead,
Through breathing statues, then unheeded things,
Through rows of warriors, and through walks of kings!
What awe did the slow solemn knell inspire,
The pealing organ and the pausing choir;
The duties by the lawn-rob'd prelate pay'd:
And the last words that dust to dust convey'd!
While speechless o'er thy closing grave we bend,
Accept these tears, thou dear departed friend.
Oh, gone for ever; take this long adieu;
And sleep in peace, next thy lov'd Montague.
Ne'er to those chambers where the mighty rest
Since their foundation came a nobler guest:

¹ Macaulay's *Essays* (8vo. 1853), iii. 443.

² The opening to the vault is immediately on entering the north aisle of the Chapel. Its nearer or western

division was at that time empty. I describe the locality as I myself saw it at night when the vault was opened in 1867. See Appendix.

³ *Autobiography of Bishop Newton.*

Nor e'er was to the bowers of bliss convey'd
A fairer spirit or more welcome shade.

'It is strange that neither his opulent and noble widow, nor any of his powerful and attached friends, should have thought of placing even a simple tablet, inscribed with his name, on the walls of the Abbey. It was not till three generations had laughed and wept over his pages that the omission was supplied by the public veneration. At length, in our own time, his image, skilfully graven, appeared in Poets'

Monument of Addison, erected 1808. Corner.¹ It represents him, as we can conceive him, clad in his dressing-gown, and freed from his wig, stepping from his parlour at Chelsea into his trim little garden, with the account of the Everlasting Club, or the Loves of Hilpa and Shalum, just finished for the next day's "Spectator," in his hand. Such a mark of national respect was due to the unsullied statesman, to the accomplished scholar, to the master of pure English eloquence, to the consummate painter of life and manners. It was due, above all, to the great satirist, who alone knew how to use ridicule without abusing it—who, without inflicting a wound, effected a great social reform, and who reconciled wit and virtue after a long and disastrous separation, during which wit had been led astray by profligacy, and virtue by fanaticism.'²

Ten years after followed a funeral of which the inward contrast in the midst of outward likeness to that of Addison is complete. As he, for the sake of his beloved patron, Montague, had been laid apart from the rest of the poetic tribe in the Chapel of the Tudors, in the far east of the Church, William Congreve, died Jan. 19, so Congreve was laid almost completely separated from them in the Nave, in the neighbourhood if not buried Jan. 26, 1728-9. His funeral. in the vault of his patroness—Henrietta Godolphin, the second Duchess of Marlborough. By that questionable alliance he, amongst the Westminster notables, the worst corrupter, as Addison the noblest purifier, of English literature, was honoured with a sumptuous funeral, also from the Jerusalem Chamber; and with the same strange passion which caused the Duchess to have a statue of him in ivory, moving by clock-work, placed daily at her table, and a wax doll, whose feet were regularly blistered and anointed by the doctors, as Congreve's had been when he suffered from the gout,³ she erected

¹ The intention of placing the monument on the grave of Thomas of Woodstock, inside the Confessor's Chapel, was happily frustrated. (*Gent. Mag.*, 1808, p. 1088.) The face was copied by Westmacott from the portraits in

the Kitcat collection, and in Queen's College, Oxford.

² Macaulay's *Essays* (8vo. 1853), iii. 443.—To this must be added the recent inscription of Tickell's verses over his grave by Lord Ellesmere.

³ Macaulay's *Essays*, vi. 531.

the monument to him at the west end of the church, commemorating the 'happiness and honour which she had enjoyed 'in her intercourse.' 'Happiness, perhaps,' exclaimed her inexorable mother, the ancient Sarah; 'she cannot say 'honour!' Yet, though private partiality may have fixed the spot, his burial in the Abbey was justified by the fame which attracted the visit of Voltaire to him, as to the chief representative of English literature;¹ which won from Dryden the praise of being next to Shakspeare; from Steele the homage of 'Great Sir, great author,' whose 'awful name was known' by barbarians; and from Pope, the Dedication of the *Iliad*, and the title of *Ultimus Romanorum*. And there is a fitness in the place of his monument, 'of the finest Egyptian
'marble,' by the door where many, who there enjoy <sup>His monu-
ment.</sup> their first view of the most venerable of English sanctuaries, may thankfully recall the impressive lines in which he, with a feeling beyond his age, first described the effect of a great cathedral on the awestruck beholder—

All is hush'd and still as death.—'Tis dreadful!
How reverend is the face of this tall pile,
Whose ancient pillars rear their marble heads,
To bear aloft its arch'd and ponderous roof,
By its own weight made stedfast and immovable,
Looking tranquillity! It strikes an awe
And terror on my aching sight; the tombs
And monumental caves of death look cold,
And shoot a chillness to my trembling heart.

He who reads these lines enjoys for a moment the powers of a poet; he feels what he remembers to have felt before; but he feels it with great increase of sensibility: he recognises a familiar image, but meets it again amplified and expanded, embellished with beauty, and enlarged with majesty.²

We return to the South Transept. Matthew Prior claimed a place there, as well by his clever and agreeable verses, as by his diplomatic career and his connection with Westminster School. The monument, 'as a last piece of
<sup>Matthew
Prior, buried
Sept. 26,
1721.</sup> human vanity,' was provided by his son: the bust was a present from Louis XIV., whom he had known on his

¹ Congreve himself judged more wisely. 'I wish to be visited on no 'other footing than as a gentleman 'who leads a life of plainness and 'simplicity.' Such is his appearance on

his monument. (See the whole story discussed in Thackeray's *Humourists*, p. 78; see also pp. 61, 80.)

² Johnson, ii. 197, 198.

embassy to Paris, and may serve to remind us of his rebuke to the Great Monarch when he replied at Versailles, 'I represent 'a king who not only fights battles, but wins them.' The inscription was by Dr. Freind, Head Master of Westminster, 'in 'honour of one who had done so great honour to the school.'¹

I had not strength enough [writes Atterbury] to attend Mr. Prior to his grave, else I would have done it, to have shown his friends that I had forgot and forgiven what he wrote to me. He is buried, as he desired, at the feet of Spenser, and I will take care to make good in every respect what I said to him when living; particularly as to the triplet he wrote for his own epitaph; which, while we were in good terms, I promised him should never appear on his tomb while I was Dean of Westminster.²

Ten years afterwards another blow fell on the literary circle. Gay's 'Fables,' written for the education of the Duke of Cumberland, still attract English children to his monument. But his playful, amiable character can only be appreciated by reading the letters of his contemporaries.³

'We have all had,' writes Dr. Arbuthnot, 'another loss, of our 'worthy and dear friend Dr. Gay. It was some alleviation of 'my grief to see him so universally lamented by almost every- 'body, even by those who only knew him by reputation. He 'was interred at Westminster Abbey, as if he had been a peer 'of the realm; and the good Duke of Queensberry, who lamented 'him as a brother, will set up a handsome monument upon

His funeral, 'him.' His body was brought by the Company of Dec. 23, 1732.

Upholders from the Duke of Queensberry's to Exeter Change, and thence to the Abbey, at eight o'clock in the winter evening. Lord Chesterfield and Pope were present amongst the mourners.⁴ He had already, two months before his death, desired—

My dear Mr Pope, whom I love as my own soul, if you survive me, as you certainly will, if a stone shall mark the place of my grave, see these words put upon it—

Life is a jest, and all things show it;
I thought it once, but now I know it,

with what else you may think proper.

¹ *Biog. Brit.* v. 3445.

² Pope, x. 382.—The triplet was:

To me 'tis given to die—to you 'tis given
To live: alas! one moment sets us even—
Mark how impartial is the will of Heaven.

³ 'Good God! how often we are to
'die before we go quite off this stage!

'In every friend we lose a part of our-
'selves, and the best part. God keep
'those we have left: few are worth
'praying for, and one's self the least of
'all.' (Pope, *iii.* 378.)

⁴ Pope, *ix.* 208, 209.

⁵ *Biog. Brit.* *iv.* 2167, 2187.

His wish was complied with.¹ The conclusion specially points to his place of burial:—

These are thy honours ! not that here thy bust
Is mix'd with heroes, nor with kings thy dust,
But that the worthy and the good shall say,
Striking their pensive bosoms—' Here lies Gay.'

This last line, which was altered² at the suggestion of Swift, 'is so dark that few understand it, and so harsh when it is explained that still fewer approve it.'³

With Gay is concluded, as far as the Abbey is concerned, the last of the brilliant circle of friends whose mutual correspondence and friendship give such an additional interest to their graves. One of these, however, we sorely miss. Pope, died May 30, 1744, buried at Twickenham. 'I have been told of one Pope,' says Goldsmith's Chinese philosopher, as he wanders through Poets' Corner, murmuring at the obscure names of which he had never heard before: 'Is he there?' 'It is time enough,' replied his guide, 'these hundred years: he is not long dead: people have not done hating him yet.' It was not, however, the hate of his contemporaries that kept his bust out of the Abbey,⁴ but his own deliberate wish to be interred, by the side⁵ of his beloved mother, in the central aisle of the parish church of Twickenham: and his epitaph, composed by himself, is inscribed on a white marble tablet above the gallery—

For one that would not be buried in Westminster Abbey. His epitaph.

Heroes and kings ! your distance keep,
In peace let one poor poet sleep,
Who never flatter'd folks like you :
Let Horace blush, and Virgil too.

The 'Little Nightingale,' who withdrew from the boisterous company of London to those quiet shades, only to revisit them in his little chariot like 'Homer in a nutshell,'⁶ naturally rests there at last.

With Pope's secession the line of poets is broken for a time.

¹ To make room for the monument, Butler's bust (by permission of Alderman Barber) was removed to its present position. (Chapter Book, October 31, 1733.)

² From 'striking their *aching* bosoms.' (*Blog. Brit.* iv. 2187.)

³ Johnson, iii. 215.

⁴ Pope, iii. 382.

⁵ 'His filial piety excels
Whatever genuine story tells.'
(Swift.)

⁶ Thackeray's *Humourists*, p. 207.

None whose claims rested on their poetic merits alone were, after him, buried within the Abbey, till quite our own days. Thomson, whose bust appears by the side of Shakspeare's monument, was interred in the parish church of his own favourite Richmond—

Thomson,
buried at
Richmond,
1748; his
monument
in the
Abbey,
erected May
10, 1762.

In yonder grave a Druid lies.¹

Gray could be buried nowhere but in that country churchyard of Stoke Pogis, which he has rendered immortal by his

Gray, buried
at Stoke
Pogis, 1771.

Elegy, and in which he anticipates his rest. His monument, however, is placed by Milton's; and, both by the art of the sculptor, and the verses inscribed upon it by his friend Mason, is made to point not unfitly to Milton, thus

Mason,
buried at
Aston, in
Yorkshire,
1797.

completing that cycle of growing honour which we saw beginning with the tablet of Philips.² And next to this cenotaph is also, in a natural sequence, that of Mason himself, with an inscription by his own friend Hurd.

It may be well to take advantage of this pause in the succession to mark the memorials of other kinds of genius,

HISTORICAL
AID.

Casaubon,
died July 1,
1614.

which have intermingled with the more strictly poetic vein. Isaac Casaubon,³ interesting not only for his great learning, but as one of those Protestants of the seventeenth century who, like Grotius and Grabe, looked with a kindly eye on the older Churches, had, on the death of his French patron Henri IV., received from James I. (although a layman) prebendal stalls at Canterbury, but 'lieth entombed,' says Fuller, 'in the south aisle⁴ of Westminster Abbey;' who then adds, with an emphasis which marks this tomb as the first in a new and long succession, 'not in the east or *poetical* side thereof where Chaucer, Spenser, Drayton are interred, but on the west or *historical* side of the aisle.' His monument was made by Stone for £60 at the cost of 'Thomas Morton, Bishop of Durham, that great lover of learned men, dead or alive.'⁵ Next to it, and carrying on

¹ Collins's Ode.

² See p. 261.

³ Spelt *Causabon* in the Register. Mrs. *Causabon* was buried in the cloisters, March 11, 1635-36. (Register.)

⁴ The Register says July 8.

⁵ His grave, however, was 'at the entrance of St. Benedict's Chapel' (Register.) Near the same spot not long afterwards (November 29, 1639)

was laid the historian of the Scottish Church, Archbishop Spottiswoode. He had intended to be buried in Scotland, but the difficulty of removal from London and the King's wish prevailed in favour of the Abbey. (Grub's *Eccl. History of Scotland*, iii. 66.)

⁶ Walpole's *Painters*, 242. About the same time was buried in an un-

the same affinity, is the bust of William Camden, by his close connection with Westminster, as its one lay Head-master, and as the Prince of English antiquaries, well deserving his place in this 'Broad Aisle,' in which he was laid with great pomp; all the College of Heralds attending the funeral of their chief. Christopher Sutton preached 'a good modest sermon.'² 'Both of these plain tombs,' adds Fuller, marking their peculiar appearance at the time, 'made of white marble, show the simplicity of their intentions, the candidness of their natures, and perpetuity of their memories.' On Isaac Casaubon's tablet is left the trace of another 'candid and simple nature.' Izaak Walton,³—who may in his youth have seen his venerable namesake, to whom indeed Casaubon perhaps gave his Christian name, who was a friend of his son Meric and of his patron Morton, and who loses no occasion of commending 'that man of rare learning and ingenuity'—forty years afterwards, wandering through the South Transept, scratched his well-known monogram on the marble, with the date 1658, earliest of those unhappy inscriptions of names of visitors, which have since defaced so many a sacred space in the Abbey. *O si sic omnia!* We forgive the Greek soldiers who recorded their journey on the foot of the statue at Ipsambul; the Platonist who has left his name in the tomb of Rameses at Thebes; the Roman Emperor who has carved his attestation of Memnon's music on the colossal knees of Amenophis. Let us, in like manner, forgive the angler for this mark of himself in Poets' Corner. Camden's monument long ago bore traces of another kind. The Cavaliers, or, as some said, the Independents, who broke into the Abbey at night, to deface the hearse of the Earl of Essex, 'used the like uncivil deportment towards the effigies of old learned Camden—cut in pieces the book held in his hand, broke off his nose, and otherwise defaced his visignomy.'⁴

A base villain—for certainly no person that had a right English soul could have done it—not suffering his monument to stand without

marked and unknown grave Richard Hakluyt (Register), the father of English geography, who was educated at Westminster, and in later life became a Prebendary. See Chapter VI.

¹ Register.

² State Papers, Nov. 21, 1623.

Sutton, who was a Prebendary, was buried (1629) in the same transept. Dart, ii. 66.

³ Walton was born 1593, and died 1683.

⁴ *Perfect Diurnal*, November 23–30, 1646. Alluding to the book of 'Britannia' on Camden's monument.

Camden.
buried Nov.
10, 1623.

Casaubon's
monument.

Izaak
Walton's
monogram,
1658.

Camden's
monument.

violation, whose learned leaves have so preserved the antiquities of the nation.¹

It was restored by the University of Oxford, from which, in his earlier struggles, he had vainly sought a fellowship and a degree—one of the many instances of generous repentance by which Oxford has repaid her shortcomings to her eminent sons.

‘Opposite his friend Camden’s monument,’² though a little beyond the precincts of the transept, before the entrance of St. Nicholas’s Chapel, is the grave of another antiquary, hardly less famous—Sir Henry Spelman, buried in his eighty-first year, by order of Charles I., with much solemnity.³ He had lived in intimacy with all the antiquarians of that antiquarian time, and the patronage which he received, both from Archbishop Abbott and Archbishop Laud, well agrees with the two-sided character of the old knight, at once so constitutional and so loyal. If ever any book was favourable to the claims of the High Church party, it was the ‘History of Sacrilege,’ but even Spelman was obliged to stop his ‘Glossary’ at the letter ‘L,’ because there were three M’s that scandalised the Archbishop—‘Magna Charta,’ ‘Magnum Concilium Regis,’ and ‘M——.’ At the foot of Camden’s monument the Parliamentary historian May had been buried. ‘If he were a biassed and partial writer, he lieth near a good and true historian indeed—I mean Dr. Camden.’⁴

Under the Commonwealth this spot was consecrated to the burial of theologians.⁵ Twiss, the Calvinist Vicar of Newbury and Prolocutor of the Westminster Assembly, Strong,⁷ the famous Independent, and Marshall,

¹ Winstanley’s *Worthies* (1660).

² Gibson’s *Life of Spelman*.

³ Register.

⁴ Fuller’s *Worthies*, ii. 259.—The expressive bust of Sir William Sander-Sanderson, son, the aged historian of July 18, Mary Stuart, James I., and 1676, aged 91. Charles I., was originally close to the spot where, with his wife, ‘mother of the maids of honour,’ he lies in the North Transept. Evelyn (*Memoirs*, ii. 420) was present at his funeral. It was removed to make way for Wager’s monument, and now looks out from beneath that of Admiral Watson.

⁵ Two earlier Protestant divines had been already interred in the Abbey, Redmayne (1551), Master of Trinity,

one of the most learned and moderate of the early Reformers, and Redmayne, a compiler of the first Reformed Liturgy; and Bilson, June 18, 1616. son, Bishop of Winchester, buried in the South Ambulatory, June 18, 1616—remarkable for his defence of ‘Episcopacy,’ for his belief in the literal meaning of the ‘Descent into ‘Hell,’ and for his noble statement of the true view of Christian Redemption.

⁶ See Chapter VI. Twiss was buried at the upper end of the Poor Folks’ Table, near the entry. (Register.) His funeral was attended by the whole Assembly of Divines. (Neal’s *Puritans*, iii. 317.)

⁷ For Strong’s pastoral ministrations

the famous Presbyterian preacher, were all laid here until their disinterment in 1661. It became afterwards no less the centre of Royalist divines. In the place of May's¹ monument was raised the tablet of Dr. Triplett, and then that of Outram, who wrote a once celebrated book on sacrifice, both Prebendaries of Westminster. Beside them rests another far greater, also locally connected with Westminster — Isaac Barrow. Doubtless had 'the best scholar in England' (as Charles II. called him when he signed his patent for the Mastership of Trinity) died in his own great college, he would have been interred in the vestibule of Trinity chapel, which was to contain Newton's statue, as his portrait hangs by the side of that of Newton in Trinity hall. It was the singular connection of his office with Westminster School which caused his interment under the same roof which contains Newton's remains. He had come, as master after Master, to the election of Westminster scholars, and was lodged in one of the canonical houses 'that had a little stair to it out of the 'Cloisters,'² which made him call it 'a man's nest.'³ He was there struck with high fever, and died from the opium which, by a custom contracted when at Constantinople, he administered to himself. 'Had it not been too inconvenient to carry him to 'Cambridge, there wit and eloquence had paid their tribute 'for the honour he has done them. Now he is laid in Westminster Abbey, on the learned side of the South Transept.'⁴ His monument was erected by 'the gratitude of his friends, a contribution not usual in that age, and a respect peculiar to him among all the glories of that Church.' His epitaph was written by 'his dear friend Dr. Mapletost.' 'His picture was never made from life, and the effigies on his tomb doth but little resemble him.' 'He was in person of the

Marshall,
Nov. 28,
1665.
Triplett,
buried
July, 1670.
Outram,
buried
Aug. 28,
1679.
Barrow,
died May 4,
buried May
7, 1677.

Barrow's
monument.

in the Abbey, see Chapter VI. His funeral sermon was preached by Obadiah Sedgewick, who says that he was 'so plain in heart, so deep in judgment, so painful in study, so exact in preaching, and, in a word, so fit for all the parts of the ministerial service, that I do not know his equal.'

¹ Crull, App. xxiv.

² It was, doubtless, the 'old prebendal house called the Tree,' pulled

down in 1710 (11). (Chapter Book, February 22, 1710.)

³ *Lives of Guildford and North*, iii. 318. Another version is that 'he died in mean lodgings at a sadler's near Charing Cross, an old low-built house, which he had used for several years.' (Dr. Pope's *Life of Ward*, 167.) He had a few days before put Dr. Pope 'into a rapture of joy' by inviting him to the Lodge at Trinity. (*Ibid.* 167.)

⁴ *Life of Dr. Barrow*, p. xvii.

' lesser size, lean and of extraordinary strength, of a fair and
' calm complexion, a thin skin, very susceptible of the cold ;
' his eyes gray, clear, and somewhat shortsighted ; his hair of a
' light auburn, very fine and curling.'

Above Casaubon and Barrow is the monument erected by Harley, Earl of Oxford, to the illustrious Prussian scholar, Grabe,¹ the editor of the Septuagint and of Irenæus, who, like Casaubon, found in the Church of England a home more congenial than either Rome or Geneva could furnish.

Grabe, died
Aug. 3, 1711.
buried in St.
Pancras.

Looking down the Transept are three notable monuments, united chiefly by the bond of Westminster School, but also by that of learning and wit—Busby, South, and Vincent.

Busby,
buried April
8, 1696.

Busby, the most celebrated of schoolmasters before our own time, was doubtless the genius of the place for all the fifty-eight years in which he reigned over the School.² To this, and not to the Abbey, belongs his history. But the recollection

of his severity long invested his monument with a peculiar awe. 'His pupils,' said the profane wit of the last century, 'when they come by, look as pale as his marble, in remembrance of his severe exactions.'³ As Sir Roger de Coverley stood before Busby's tomb, he exclaimed, 'Dr. Busby, a great man, whipped my grandfather—a very great man ! I should have gone to him myself if I had not been a blockhead. A very great man !'⁴ From this tomb, it is said, all⁵ the likenesses of him have been taken, he having steadily refused, during his life, to sit for his portrait. He was buried, like a second Abbot Ware, under the black and white marble pavement which he placed along the steps and sides of the Sacrament.

His monu-
ment.

Under those steps was laid South, who began his career at Westminster under Busby ; and then, after his many vicissitudes of political tergiversation, polemical bitterness, and witty preaching, was buried, as Prebendary and Archdeacon of Westminster, 'with much solemnity,' in his eighty-third year, by the side of his old master.⁶

South, died
July 8,
buried July
16, 1716.

¹ Secretan's *Life of Nelson*, p. 223.—He was buried in the Chancel of St. Pancras Church, it was believed from a secret sympathy with the Roman Catholics, who were buried in the adjacent cemetery.

² See Chapter VI.

³ Tom Brown, iii. 228. Compare

the same thought in *Carmina Quadrigesima*, first series, p. 66.

⁴ *Spectator*, No. 139.

⁵ One exception must be noticed—the portrait in the Headmaster's house—unlike all the others, and apparently from life.

⁶ See Chapter VI.

Vincent followed the two others after a long interval.¹ His relations with Westminster were still closer than theirs—Scholar, Under-master, Headmaster, Prebendary and Dean in succession. Still his works on ancient commerce and navigation would almost have entitled him to a place amongst the scholars of the Abbey, apart from his official connection with it.

Vincent,
died Dec. 21,
buried Dec.
29, 1816.

Not far from those indigenous giants of Westminster is the monument of Antony Horneck,² who, though a German by birth and education, was, with the liberality of those times, recommended by Tillotson to Queen Mary for a stall in the Abbey. He was ‘a most pathetic preacher, a person of saint-like life,’³ the glory of the Savoy Chapel, where his enormous congregations caused it to be said that his parish reached from Whitechapel to Whitehall. He presented the rare union of great pastoral experience, unflinching moral courage, and profound learning. The Hebrew epitaph bears witness to his proficiency in Biblical and Rabbinical literature.

Horneck,
buried Feb.
4, 1696-7.

Another Prebendary of Westminster, Herbert Thorndyke,⁴ lies in the East Cloister. He had the misfortune of equally offending the Nonconformists at the Savoy Conference by his supposed tendencies to the Church of Rome, and the High Church party by his familiarity with the Moravians. In his will he withheld his money from his relatives if they joined either the mass or the new licensed Conventicles. And on his grave he begged that these words might be inscribed: ‘*Hic jacet corpus Herberti Thorndyke, Preb.*

Thorndyke,
buried July
13, 1672.

His grave.

‘*hujus ecclesiæ, qui vivus veram reformandæ ecclesiæ rationem ac modum precibusque studiisque prosequabatur. Tu, lector, requiem ei et beatam in Christo resurrectionem precare.*’⁵ This wish was not fulfilled. His gravestone, which is near the eastern entrance to the Abbey, from the Cloister, never had any other inscription than his name, which has lately been renewed. Beneath another unmarked gravestone, in the North Cloister, lies Dr.

¹ He is buried in St. Benedict's Chapel. See Chapter VI.

² He is buried in the South Transept. See Chapter VI. Close beside his monument is that of another Prebendary, Samuel Barton (died Sept. 1, 1715).

³ Evelyn, iii. 78.

⁴ His brother, John Thorndyke, who

lies with him, died in 1668, on his return from New England, to which he was one of the first emigrants. John's son Paul had already returned in 1663. See Chapter VI.

John Thorndyke, 1668.

⁵ This inscription was adduced in the famous Woolfrey case.

William King, friend of Swift, and author of a long series of humorous and serious writings, intertwined with the politics and literature of that time. He lies beside his master, Dr. Knipe.

Dr. William King, buried Dec. 27, 1712.

Atterbury, died at Paris, buried May 12, 1722.

Wharton, buried March 8, 1694-5.

The burial of Atterbury, connected with almost every celebrated name in the Abbey during this period, and in the opinion of Lord Grenville the greatest master of English prose, must be reserved for another place.¹ But immediately above his grave hangs the monument of a divine whose memory casts a melancholy interest over the small entrance by which Dean after Dean has descended into the Abbey: 'the favourite pupil of the great 'Newton'—'the favourite chaplain of Sancroft, whose early 'death was deplored by all parties as an irreparable loss to 'letters;' 'the youthful pride of Cambridge, as Atterbury was of Oxford; perhaps, had he lived, as unscrupulous and as imperious as Atterbury, but with an exactitude and versatility of learning which may keep his name fresh in the mind of students long after Atterbury's fame has been confined to the political history of his time. Henry Wharton, compiler of the 'Anglia 'Sacra,' died in his thirty-first year. His funeral was attended by Archbishop Tenison and Bishop Lloyd. Sprat, as Dean, read the service. The Westminster scholars (at that time 'an 'uncommon respect,' and 'the highest the Dean and Chapter 'can show on that occasion') were caused to attend; the usual fees were remitted; and Purcell's Anthem was sung over his grave,³ which was close to the spot where his tablet is seen.⁴

Returning towards Poets' Corner, in the south aisle of

¹ See Chapter VI.

² Macaulay, ii. 109.

³ *Life of Wharton*.

⁴ In the North Aisle and Transept may here be noticed Warren, Bishop of Bangor (1800), with the fine monument of his wife, and the two Irish Primates — Boulter, the munificent statesman-prelate, who 'was translated 'to the Archbishopric of Armagh, 1723, 'and from thence to Heaven, 1742;' Agar, 1809. and Agar, Lord Normanton, who, in 1809, was buried in the adjacent grave of his uncle, Lord Mendip, Archbishop successively of Cashel and Dublin. On his tomb is sculptured, by his express desire, an exact copy of the miserable modern

Cathedral of Cashel, which he built at the foot of the Rock in the place of the beautiful church which he left in ruins at the top of the hill. Bishop Monk lies close by, author of the *Life of Bentley*, con- Monk. June 14, 1856. nected with Westminster both by his stall and by the magnificent memorial of him, left by his family, in the church of St. James the Less. In the South Aisle, too, must be added the Scottish Prebendary of Westminster, Andrew Bell, Bell, 1832. the founder of the Madras scheme of education. (The monument mistakenly gives the date of his installation 1810 instead of 1819.) A third Irish Primate, the handsome George Stone, lies in the Nave.

the Choir is a monument¹ which commemorates at once the increasing culture of the Nonconformists and the Christian liberality of the Church of England. Isaac Watts was 'one of 'the first authors that taught the Dissenters to court 'attention by the graces of language.' We may add that he was one of the first, if not the first, who made sacred poetry the vehicle of edification and instruction. He was the Keble of the Nonconformists and of the eighteenth century. Before the 'Christian Year,' no English religious poems were so popular as his 'Psalms and Hymns.' 'Happy,' says the great contemporary champion of Anglican orthodoxy, 'will be that 'reader whose mind is disposed, by his verses or his 'prose, to imitate him in all but his Nonconformity, to 'copy his benevolence to men and his reverence to God.'² His monument was erected a century after his death, and now, after nearly another century, close by has been raised a memorial to the two Wesleys, inscribed with their characteristic sayings, taken from their respective tombs, and sculptured with the faces of the two brothers, and the scene of John's preaching.

Watts, died at Stoke Newington, buried in Bunhill Fields, 1748.

Charles Wesley, buried in Marylebone, 1788.

John Wesley, buried in the City Road Chapel, 1791.

Monument 1876.

Meanwhile, the 'Historical or Learned Aisle' of the South Transept had overflowed into that part which was especially entitled Poets' Corner. The blending of poet, divine, scholar, and historian, in the same part of the Abbey, is a testimony to the necessary union of learning with imagination, of fact with fiction, of poetry with prose; a protest against the vulgar literary heresy which denies Clio to be a muse. The 'Divine Spirit' ascribed to Poetry on the monument of Spenser is seen to inspire a wider range. The meeting-point between the two is in the group of 'men of letters,' properly so called, which gathered round Shakspeare's monument—the cluster of names familiar through Boswell's 'Life of Johnson.'

MEN OF LETTERS.

Goldsmith was the first to pass away. 'I remember once,' said Dr. Johnson, 'being with Goldsmith 'in Westminster Abbey. While we surveyed the Poets' Corner, I said to him—

Goldsmith, died April 4, 1774, and buried at the Temple.

'Forsitan et nostrum nomen miscebitur istis.

¹ It was erected at the beginning of this century, but 'was mutilated by 'the hand of wantonness' before 1810. *Life of Dr. Watts*, p. xlix. It has been recently repaired by the Nonconformists.

² Johnson's *Poets*, iii. 248. Speaker Onslow, after his last visit to him, 'thought he saw a man of God after his 'death devoutly laid out. May my soul 'be where his soul now is!' (*Mem. of Watts*, 310.)

'When we got to Temple Bar he stopped me, pointed to the heads [of the Jacobites] upon it, and silyly whispered me—

'Forsitan et nostrum nomen miscebitur istis.'

It is his name only, not his dust, that is mingled with the Poets. He lies on the north side of the Temple Church, under a gravestone erected in this century. But 'whatever he wrote, he did 'it better than any other man could do. He deserved a place 'in Westminster Abbey, and every year he lived would have 'deserved it better.'¹ It had been intended that he should have his burial in the Abbey, but the money which a public funeral would have cost was reserved for his monument.²

His tablet.

It is on the south wall of the South Transept—in a situation selected by the most artistic, and with an inscription composed by the most learned, of his admirers. Sir Joshua Reynolds fixed the place. Dr. Johnson exemplified, in his inscription, the rule which he had sternly laid down for others, by writing it not in English, but in Latin. In vain was the famous round-robin addressed to him by all his friends, none of whom had the courage to address him singly, to petition that

the character of the deceased as a writer, particularly as a poet, is perhaps not delineated with all the exactness which Dr. Johnson is capable of giving it: we therefore, with deference to his superior judgment, humbly request that he would at least take the trouble of revising it, and of making such additions and alterations as he shall think proper upon a further perusal. But if we might venture to express our wishes, they would lead us to request that he would write the epitaph in English rather than in Latin, as we think that the memory of so eminent an English writer ought to be perpetuated in the language to which his works are likely to be so lasting an ornament, which we also know to have been the opinion of the late Doctor himself.⁴

Sir Joshua agreed to carry it to Dr. Johnson, 'who received 'it with much good humour, and desired Sir Joshua to tell the 'gentlemen that he would alter the epitaph in any 'manner they pleased, as to the sense of it, but he 'would never consent to disgrace the walls of Westminster

Goldsmith's
epitaph.

¹ Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 225. An interesting application of this incident occurs in some verses on a stranger who encountered the poet Rogers wandering through Poets' Corner. (*Fasciculus*,

printed privately at the Chiswick Press, p. 5.)

² Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 108.

³ *Life of Reynolds*, ii. 71.

⁴ Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 449.

'Abbey with an English inscription;' adding, 'I wonder that Joe Warton, a scholar by profession, should be such a fool. I should have thought too that Mund Burke would have had more sense.'¹ One mistake in detail was afterwards discovered as to the date² of Goldsmith's birth. The expression 'physicus,' as Boswell says, 'is surely not right.' Johnson himself used to say, 'Goldsmith, sir, will give us a very fine book on this subject; but if he can distinguish a cow from a horse, that, I believe, is the extent of his knowledge of natural history.'³ But the whole inscription shows the supreme position which Goldsmith occupied in English literature; and one expression, at least, has passed from it into the proverbial Latin of mankind—

Nihil tetigit quod non ornavit.⁴

The giant of the circle was next to fall. Johnson, a few days before his death,

had asked Sir John Hawkins, as one of his executors, where he should be buried; and on being answered, 'Doubtless in Johnson, died Dec. 13, buried Dec. 20, 1784. Westminster Abbey,' seemed to feel a satisfaction, very natural to a poet; and, indeed, very natural to every man of any imagination, who has no family sepulchre in which he can be laid with his fathers. Accordingly, upon Monday, December 20, his remains [enclosed in a leaden coffin] were deposited in that noble and renowned edifice [in the South Transept, near the foot of Shakspeare's monument, and close to the coffin of his friend Garrick]; and over his grave was placed a large blue flagstone with name and age.

His funeral was attended by a respectable number of his friends, particularly such of the members of The Literary Club as were in town; and was also honoured with the presence of several of the Reverend Chapter of Westminster. Mr. Burke, Sir Joseph Banks, Mr. Windham, Mr. Langton, Sir Charles Bunbury, and Mr. Colman bore his pall. His schoolfellow, Dr. Taylor, performed the mournful office of reading the Burial Service.⁵

A flagstone with his name and date alone marks the spot. The monument⁶ long intended to be placed on it was at last transferred to St. Paul's.

¹ Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 449.

² 1731 for 1728. (*Ibid.* iii. 448.)

³ *Ibid.* iii. 449.

⁴ *Nullum scribendi genus quod tetigit non ornavit.* (Epitaph.)

⁵ Boswell's *Johnson*, v. 351, 352.

⁶ The proposal for its erection occurs in the private records of the Club, and

the order for its admission in the Chapter Book, March 17, 1790.

⁷ *Life of Reynolds.* The discussion of the proposed epitaphs between Parr, Reynolds, and Lord Stowell, fills thirty pages in Dr. Parr's works, iv. 680-713. For the appropriateness of the statue at St. Paul's, see Milman's *Annals*, 481.

Within a few feet of Johnson lies (by one of those striking coincidences in which the Abbey abounds) his deadly enemy, James Macpherson, the author or editor of 'Ossian.' Though he died near Inverness, his body, according to his will, was carried from Scotland, and buried 'in the Abbey Church of Westminster, the city in which he had passed the greatest and best part of his life.'

Macpherson,
died Feb. 17,
buried
March 18,
1796.

The last links in that group are the two dramatists, Richard Cumberland and Richard Brinsley Sheridan, both buried close to Shakspeare's statue. At Cumberland's funeral a funeral oration was delivered—perhaps the last of its kind—by Dean Vincent, his former schoolfellow¹ at Westminster. When Sheridan was dying, in the extremity of poverty, an article appeared from a generous enemy in the 'Morning Post,' saying that relief should be given before it was too late: 'Prefer ministering in the chamber of sickness' to ministering at 'the splendid sorrows that adorn the hearse'—'life and succour against Westminster Abbey and a funeral.' But it was too late; and Westminster Abbey and the funeral, with all the pomp that rank could furnish, was the alternative. It was this which suggested the remark of a French journal: 'France is the place for a man of letters to live in, and England the place for him to die in.'²

Cumberland,
died May 7,
buried May
4, 1811.
Sheridan,
died July 7,
buried July
13, 1816.

Two cenotaphs close the eighteenth century in Poets' Corner, under the tablet of St. Evremond. One is that of Christopher Anstey, the amiable author of the 'New Bath Guide'—probably the most popular satire of that time, though now receding into the obscurity enveloping the Bath society which it describes. The other, remarkable by the contrast which it presents to the memorial of the worldly-minded wit of Charles II.'s age, is that of the Christian chivalry and simplicity of Granville Sharp, belonging more properly to the noble army of Abolitionists on the other side of the Abbey, but claiming its place among the men of letters by his extensive though eccentric learning.³ The monument, with its kneeling negro, and its lion and lamb, was erected by the African Institution; and the inscription commemorating the most scrupulously

Christopher
Anstey,
buried at
Bath, 1806.

Granville
Sharp, died
July 1, 1813.
buried at
Fulham.

¹ *Notes and Queries*, second series, ii. 46.

² *Moore's Life of Sheridan*, ii. 461.

³ *Hoare's Life of Granville Sharp*, p. 472. For his character, see Stephen's *Ecol. Biog.* ii. 312-321.

orthodox of men was, by a curious chance, the composition of the Unitarian, William Smith.

The remaining glories of Poets' Corner¹ belong to our own time and to the future. It would seem as if, during the opening of this century, the place for once had lost its charm. Of that galaxy of poets which ushered in this epoch, Campbell alone has achieved there both grave and monument, on which is inscribed the lofty hope of immortality from his own ode on 'The Last Man.' Close beside him, and within a month, but beneath an unmarked gravestone,² was laid Cary, the graceful and accurate translator of Dante. Of those who took part in the vast revival of our periodical literature the only one who rests here is the founder of the 'Quarterly Review,' William Gifford.³ Of the three greatest geniuses of that period, two (Burns and Walter Scott) sleep at Dumfries and at Dryburgh, under their own native hills; the third (Byron) lies at Newstead. 'We cannot even now retrace the close of the 'brilliant and miserable career of the most celebrated 'Englishman of the nineteenth century, without feeling 'something of what was felt by those who saw the 'hearse with its long train of coaches⁴ turn slowly 'northwards, leaving behind it that cemetery which had been 'consecrated by the dust of so many great poets, but of which 'the doors were closed against all that remained of Byron.'⁵ Hard trial to the guardians of the Abbey at that juncture: let us not condemn either him or them too harshly, but rather ponder his own description of himself in the speech of

Campbell, died at Boulogne, June 15, buried July 8, 1844.
Henry Cary, Aug. 21, 1844.

William Gifford, Jan. 8, 1837.

Byron, died at Missolonghi, April 19, buried at Newstead, July 21, 1824.

¹ In the Cloisters is the tablet of the humourist, Bonnell Thornton, friend of Warton, who wrote his epitaph; and the grave and monument of Ephraim Chambers, the eccentric sceptical philosopher, the Father of Cyclopædias, who wrote his own epitaph — '*Multis perculgatus, paucis notus, qui vitam, inter lucem et umbram, nec eruditus nec idioticus literis deditus, transegit.*'

² An inscription was first added in 1868.

³ In the same grave was afterwards buried his early school-fellow, Dean Ireland (died Sept. 8, 1842).
Sept. 2, buried Sept. 8, 1842).

⁴ A lively Westminster boy (now a

venerable Archdeacon) remembers how he sacrificed his breakfast by running into Great George Street to see the funeral pass.

⁵ Macaulay's *Essays*, ii. 338.—It was understood that an unfavourable answer would be given to any application to inter Byron in the Abbey. (Moore's *Life*, vi. 221.) He was buried in the village church at Hucknall, near Newstead. The question was revived on the suggestion that the statue of Byron by Thorwaldsen should be admitted. This also was refused, and the refusal caused an angry altercation in the House of Lords between Lord Brougham and Bishop Blomfield. See Appendix to Lord Brougham's *Travels in Albania*, vol. i. pp. 522–544.

Manfred's Abbot. Coleridge, poet and philosopher, rests at Highgate; and when Queen Emma, from the Islands of the Pacific, asked in the Abbey for a memorial of the author of the

Southey,
died March
4, 1843,
buried at
Keswick.
Words-
worth, died
April 23,
1850, buried
at Grasmere.

'Ancient Mariner,' she asked in vain. Southey and Wordsworth have been more fortunate. Though they rest by the lakes they loved so well, Southey's bust looks down upon us from over the shoulder of Shakespeare; and Wordsworth, by the sentiment of a kinsman, is seated in the Baptistery—not unsuited to the

innocent presence of childhood at the sacred font—not unworthy to make that angle of the Nave the nucleus of a new Poets' Corner of future years. Beside him, by a like concord of ideas, has been erected by almost the sole munificence of a gene-

Keble, died
at Bourne-
mouth,
March 29,
1886, buried
at Hursley.
Herbert,
1832, buried
at Bemerton.
Cowper,
1800, buried
at Dereham.

rous admirer—Edward Twisleton—the bust of Keble, author of the 'Christian Year,' who himself wrote the reverential epitaph on Wordsworth's monument at Grasmere, and who, if by his prose he represents an ecclesiastical party, by his poetry belongs to the whole of English Christendom. The stained glass

above, given by a citizen of the United States, commemorates two sacred poets, alike connected with Westminster in their early days, and representing in their gentle strains the two opposite sides of the English Church—George Herbert and William Cowper.

A poet of another kind, Edward Bulwer, Lord Lytton, whose indefatigable labours in the various branches of literature

Lord Lytton,
died June 18,
1873.

reached over a period of half a century, lies apart, in the Chapel of St. Edmund, amongst the ancient nobles, and by the side of a warrior whose fall on the field of Barnet he had celebrated in one of the best of his romances.

We return to the western aisle of the South Transept. There lies the brilliant poet and historian who, perhaps, of all who have trod the floor of the Abbey, or lie buried within its precincts, most deeply knew and felt its manifold interests, and

Macaulay,
died Dec. 28,
1869; buried
Jan. 9, 1880.

most unceasingly commemorated them. Lord Macaulay rests at the foot of the statue of Addison, whose character and genius none had painted as he; carrying with him to his grave the story of the reign of Queen Anne, which none but he could adequately tell. And whilst, from one side of that statue, his bust looks towards the Royal Sepulchres, in the opposite niche is enshrined that of another no less profound admirer of the 'Spectator,' who had often

expressed his interest in the spot as he wandered through the Transept—William Makepeace Thackeray. Close Thackeray, died Dec. 24, 1863, buried at Kensal Green. under the bust of Thackeray lies Charles Dickens, not, it may be, his equal in humour, but more than his equal in his hold on the popular mind, as was shown in the intense and general enthusiasm evinced over his grave. The funeral, according to Dickens's urgent and express desire in his will, was strictly private. It took place at an early hour in the summer morning, the grave having been dug in secret the night before, and the vast solitary space of the Abbey was occupied only by the small band of the mourners and the Abbey Clergy, who, without any music except the occasional peal of the organ, read the funeral service. For days the spot was visited by thousands; many were the flowers strewn upon it by unknown hands, many were the tears shed by the poorer visitors. He rests beside Sheridan, Garrick, and Henderson. In the same transept, close by the bust of Camden and Casaubon, lie in the same grave Grote and Thirlwall, both scholars together at Charterhouse, both historians of Greece, the philosophic statesman and the judicial theologian.

The dramatists, who complete the roll of the writers of the eighteenth century, throw us back on another succession of notables whose entrance into the Abbey is itself significant, from the contrast which it brings out between the THE ACTORS. French and the English Church in reference to the stage. In France 'the sacraments were denied to actors who refused to repudiate their profession,' and their burial was the burial of a dog. Among these was the beautiful and gifted Le Couvreur. She died without having abjured the profession she had adorned, and she was buried in a field for cattle on the banks of the Seine. . . . Molière was the object of especial denunciation; and when he died, it was with extreme difficulty that permission could be obtained to bury him in consecrated ground. The religious mind of Racine recoiled before the censure. He ceased to write for the stage when in the zenith of his powers; and an extraordinary epitaph, while recording his virtues, acknowledges that there was one stain upon his memory—that he had been a dramatic poet.' The same view of the stage has also prevailed in the Calvinistic

¹ A curious exception was made in favour of the singers at the opera, who, by an ingenious fiction, were considered part of the Royal Household of France.

Churches. On the other hand, the Italian Church, with the Pope at its head, has always regarded the profession of actors as innocent, if not laudable; and with this has, on the whole, agreed the practice of the Church of England. The reward of its forbearance has been that, 'if we except the short period of 'depravity which followed the Restoration, the English theatre 'has been that in which the moralist can find least to condemn.'¹

Of this triumph of the stage—of this proof of the toleration of the English Church towards it—Westminster Abbey is the crowning scene; and probably through this alone has won a place in the French literature of the last century.² Not only has it included under its walls the memorials of the greatest of dramatists, and also those whose morality is the most obnoxious to complaint, but it has opened its doors to the whole race of illustrious actors and actresses. A protest indeed, as we have seen, was raised against the epitaph of Shadwell, and also against the monument of Anne Oldfield:—

Anne Oldfield, buried Oct. 27, 1730.

Some papers from the Honourable Brigadier Churchill, asking leave to put up in the Abbey a monument and an inscription to the memory of the late Mrs. Oldfield, being this day delivered in Chapter to the Lord Bishop of Rochester and Dean of the said Church, and the same being examined and read, his lordship the Dean was pleased to declare that he was so far from thinking the matter therein proposed proper to be granted, that he could neither consent to it himself, nor put any question to the Chapter concerning it.³

But, even in this extreme case, the funeral had been permitted.

Her extraordinary grace of manner drew a veil over her many failings:—

There was such a composure in her looks, and propriety in her

¹ Lecky's *History of Rationalism*, ii. 347, 349, 354.

² O rivale d'Athènes ! ô Londres, heureuse terre !

Ainsi que les tyrans vous avez su chasser

Les préjugés honteux qui vous livraient la guerre.

C'est là qu'on sait tout dire, et tout récompenser.

Nul art n'est méprisé, tout succès a sa gloire.

Le vainqueur de Tallard, le fils de la victoire,

Le sublime Dryden et le sage Addison, Et la charmante *Ophile* et l'immortel Newton,

Ont part au temple consacré à la Mémoire,

Et Leconvreux à Londres aurait eu des tombeaux

Parmi les beaux esprits, les rois et les héros.

Quiconque a des talens à Londres est un grand homme.

L'abondance et la liberté

Ont, après deux mille ans, chez vous ressuscité

L'esprit de la Grèce et de Rome.—

Voltaire's *Ode on the death of Leconvreux*, vol. x. 360 (*Ophile* = Oldfield).

³ Chapter Book, February 20, 1736.

dress, that you would think it impossible she could change the garb you one day saw her in for anything so becoming, till the next day you saw her in another. There was no mystery in this but that, however apparelled, herself was the same; for there is an immediate relation between our thoughts and our gestures, that a woman must think well to look well.¹

She was brought in state to the Jerusalem Chamber, and buried, with the utmost pomp, at the west end of the Nave. Her grave is in a not unsuitable place, beneath the monument of Congreve. Here she lies, 'buried' (according to the testimony of her maid, Elizabeth Saunders) 'in a very fine 'Brussels lace head, a Holland shift, and double ruffles of the 'same lace, a pair of new kid gloves, and her body wrapped in 'a winding-sheet.'

'Odious! in woollen! 'twould a saint provoke,'
 Were the last words that poor Narcissa spoke;
 'No, let a charming chintz and Brussels lace
 'Wrap my cold limbs, and shade my lifeless face:
 'One would not, sure, be frightful when one's dead—
 'And—Betty—give this cheek a little red.'²

Anne Bracegirdle—earlier in her career, but, by the great age at which she died (in her eighty-sixth year), later in the Abbey—lies in the East Cloister. She was the most popular actress of her time.³ Mrs. Cibber lies in the North Cloister. 'Cibber dead!' exclaimed Garrick, 'then Tragedy expired with her.'⁴ An inscription by Whitehead, in Poets' Corner, records the better qualities of 'Prichard, by nature for the stage designed.'⁵

Anne
 Bracegirdle,
 buried Sept.
 18, 1748.
 Susanna
 Maria
 Cibber, 1766.
 Hannah
 Prichard,
 died at Bath,
 1788.

Of the race of male actors, first came Betterton, the Roscius of his age. After a long life, in which he had been familiar with the leading wits of the reign of Charles II., he was buried in the south end of the East Cloister; and of no funeral of that time, except Addison's, is left a more touching account than that by his friend Sir Richard Steele:—

Betterton,
 buried May
 2, 1710.

Having received notice that the famous actor Mr. Betterton was to be interred this evening in the Cloisters near Westminster Abbey, I was resolved to walk thither, and see the last office done to a man

¹ *Tatler*, i. 104; iv. 152.

² Pope, v. 279.

³ Macaulay, iv. 310.

⁴ Previous to her funeral a notice

was put in the Roman Catholic chapel,

'Pray for the soul of Mrs. Anna Cibber.'

(*Ann. Reg.* 1761.)

⁵ Churchill's *Rosciad*.

whom I had always very much admired, and from whose action I had received more strong impressions of what is great and noble in human nature, than from the arguments of the most solid philosophers, or the descriptions of the most charming poets I had ever read. . . . While I walked in the Cloisters, I thought of him with the same concern as if I waited for the remains of a person who had in real life done all that I had seen him represent. The gloom of the place, and faint lights before the ceremony appeared, contributed to the melancholy disposition I was in ; and I began to be extremely afflicted that Brutus and Cassius had any difference, that Hotspur's gallantry was so unfortunate, and that the mirth and good humour of Falstaff could not exempt him from the grave. Nay, this occasion in me, who look upon the distinctions amongst men to be merely scenical, raised reflections upon the emptiness of all human perfection and greatness in general ; and I could not but regret that the sacred heads which lie buried in the neighbourhood of this little portion of earth in which my poor old friend is deposited, are returned to dust as well as he, and that there is no difference in the grave between the imaginary and the real monarch.¹

The memory of Betterton's acting was handed on by Barton Booth, celebrated as the chief performer of Addison's 'Cato.'

Booth enters ; hark the universal peal !

But has he spoken ? Not a syllable !

It was said of him that as Romeo, 'whilst Garrick seemed to be drawn up to Juliet, he seemed to draw Juliet down to him.' His bust in Poets' Corner, erected by his second wife (Mrs. Laidlaw, an actress), in 1772, is probably as much owing to his connection with Westminster as to his histrionic talent. He was educated at Westminster School under Busby, from which he escaped to Ireland to indulge his passion for the stage ; and he possessed property in Westminster, called *Barton Street* (from his own name) and *Cowley Street* (from his country residence). His surname has acquired a fatal celebrity from his descendant, Wilkes Booth, who followed in his ancestor's profession, and, by the knowledge so gained, assassinated President Lincoln in Ford's Theatre at Washington, on Good Friday, 1865.

In the North Cloister is Spranger Barry and his wife, Anne Crawford—'in person taller than the common size'—famous as 'Othello' and 'Romeo.' In this character he and his great rival, Garrick, played against each other so

Barry,
died
May 10, 1733,
buried at
Cowley near
Uxbridge.

Barry,
died
Jan. 20, 1777.

¹ *Tatler*, No. 167.

long as to give rise to the proverb, 'Romeo again! a plague on both your houses!' And in the same year, in the West Cloister, was interred the comedian, Samuel Foote, 'who pleased Dr. Johnson against his will.' 'The dog was so very comical—Sir, he was irresistible!'

Foote, died
Oct. 31,
buried Nov.
3, 1777.

At last came 'the stroke of death, which eclipsed the gaiety of nations and impoverished the public stock of harmless pleasures.' From Adelphi Terrace, where Garrick died, a long line of carriages reached to the Abbey. The crowd was so dense that a military guard was needed to keep order. Covent Garden and Drury Lane were each represented by twelve players. The coffin was carried through the west door. Amongst the members of the Literary Club who attended in a body, were Reynolds, Burke, Gibbon, and Johnson. 'I saw old Samuel Johnson,' says Cumberland, 'standing at the foot of Shakspeare's monument, and bathed in tears.' At the foot of that statue¹ he was laid, by the spot whither he was soon followed by his former preceptor. His monument was raised high aloft on the opposite wall—with all the emblems of tragic art, and with an inscription by Pratt²—which has provoked the only serious remonstrance against the introduction of these theatrical memorials, and that not from any austere fanatic, but from the gentlest and most genial of mortals:—

David
Garrick,
died Jan. 20,
buried Feb.
1, 1779.

Garrick's
monument.

Taking a turn in the Abbey the other day [says Charles Lamb], I was struck with the affected attitude of a figure, which, on examination, proved to be a whole-length representation of the celebrated Mr. Garrick. Though I would not go so far, with some good Catholics abroad, as to shut players altogether out of consecrated ground, yet I own I was a little scandalised at the introduction of theatrical airs and gestures into a place set apart to remind us of the saddest realities. Going nearer, I found inscribed under this harlequin figure a farrago of false thoughts and nonsense.³

The last actor buried in the Abbey was John Henderson,

¹ *Life of Reynolds*, ii. 247; Fitzgerald's *Garrick*, ii. 445. Garrick's widow is buried with him, in her wedding sheets. She survived him forty-three years—'a little bowed-down old woman, who went about leaning on a gold-headed cane, dressed in deep widow's mourning, and always talking of her dear

'Davy.' (*Pen and Ink Sketches*, 1864.) For her funeral, see Smith's *Book for a Rainy Day*, p. 226.

² An inscription had been prepared by Burke, which was thought too long. (Windham's *Diary*, p. 361.) For Sheridan's *Monody*, see Fitzgerald's *Garrick*, ii. 445.

³ Charles Lamb's *Prose Works*, 25.

by the Revolution of 1688. Close beside Blow is his successor, **William Croft**. His tablet records his gentleness to his pupils for fifty years, and the fitness of his own *Hallelujah* to the heavenly chorus, with the text, 'Awake up my glory, awake lute and harp; I myself will awake right early.' He will be longer remembered in the Abbey for the union of his music with Purcell's at its great funerals. Samuel Arnold, the voluminous composer, lies next to Purcell; and opposite his tablet is that of the historian of all those who lie around him—Charles Burney,¹ and last has followed Sir William Sterndale Bennett. In the south and west Cloisters are several Musicians of lesser fame, among them Benjamin Cooke, with his 'canon' engraved on his monument; William Shield, the Composer, at whose funeral, by the express command of George IV.,² the choirs of the Chapels Royal and of St. Paul's attended; and Muzio Clementi, whose grandchildren have recently rescued his grave from oblivion.

One, the greatest of all, has found his resting-place in a less appropriate, though still a congenial spot. Handel had lived in the society of poets. It was Arbuthnot, the friend of Pope, who said, 'Conceive the highest you can of his abilities, and they are much beyond anything that you can conceive.' He who composed the 'Messiah,' and 'Israel in Egypt,' must have been a poet, no less than a musician, of no ordinary degree.³ Therefore he was not unfitly buried in Poets' Corner, apart from his tuneful brethren. Not less than three thousand persons of all ranks attended the funeral. Above his grave, by his own provision, Roubiliac erected his monument, with the inscription, 'I know that my Redeemer liveth.' There stands the unwieldy musician, with the 'enormous white wig, which had a certain nod or vibration when things went well at the oratorio.'⁴ It was no doubt accidental that the figure faces eastward; but it gave

¹ The other historian of music—the biographer of Johnson—**Hawkins**, buried May 28, 1789. Sir John Hawkins, lies in the North Cloister, with only the letters J. H., by his own desire, on the gravestone.

² Sir George Smart told Mr. Lodge, to whom I owe the fact, that the funeral was the finest service of the kind in his recollection. Shield left his violoncello to the King, who accepted the bequest, but caused the full value to be paid to his widow.

³ 'I would uncover my head and kneel at his tomb.' (Beethoven.)

⁴ Burney's *Life of Handel*, 36. 'Nature required a great supply of sustenance to support so large a mass, and he was rather epicurean in the choice of it.' (Ibid. p. 32.) His hand was so fat that the knuckles were like those of a child.' (Ibid. p. 35.) For the curious care with which Roubiliac modelled the ear of Handel, see Smith's *Life of Nollekens*, ii. 87.

an exquisite pleasure to the antiquary Carter, when (incontrast to the monument of Shakspeare), he saw 'the statue of
'this more than man turning his eyes to where the ^{His statue.}
'Eternal Father of Heaven is supposed to sit enthroned, King
'of kings, and Lord of lords.'¹ 'He had most seriously and
'devoutly wished, for some days before his death, that he
'might breathe his last on Good Friday, in hopes, he said, of
'meeting his good God, his sweet Lord and Saviour, on the
'day of His resurrection.'² And a belief to this effect prevailed
amongst his friends. But in fact he died at 8 A.M. on Easter
Eve. It was the circumstance of Handel's burial in the Abbey
that led to the musical commemoration there on the centenary
of his birth, which is recorded above his monument.³

Music and poetry are the only arts which are adequately
represented in the Abbey. Sir Godfrey Kneller is its only
painter, and even he is not buried within its walls. ^{ARTISTS.}
'Sir Godfrey sent to me,' says Pope, 'just before he ^{Kneller, died}
'died. He began by telling me he was now convinced ^{Oct. 27, 1723,}
'he could not live, and fell into a passion of tears. I said I ^{buried at}
'hoped he might, but if not he knew that it was the will of God. ^{Kneller Hall.}
'He answered, "*No, no ; it is the Evil Spirit.*" The next word
'he said was this: "*By God, I will not be buried in West-*
'"*minster !*" I asked him why? He answered, "They do
'"*bury fools there.*" Then he said to me, "My good friend,
'"*where will you be buried ?*" I said, "Wherever I drop—
'"*very likely in Twickenham.*" He replied, "So will I." He
'proceeded to desire that I would write his epitaph, ^{Pope's}
'which I promised him.'⁴ He was buried in the ^{epitaph on}
garden of his manor at Whitton—now Kneller Hall. He chose ^{Kneller.}
for his monument in the church at Twickenham a position
already occupied (on the north-east wall of the church) by Pope's
tablet to his father. An angry correspondence ensued after
Kneller's death between his widow and Pope, and the monu-
ment was ultimately placed in the Abbey.⁵ The difficulty did

¹ *Gent. Mag.* (1774), part. ii. p. 670.

² Burney, p. 31, states that on the monument the date of his death had been inscribed as Saturday, April 14, and that it was corrected to 'Good Friday,' April 13. This is a complete mistake. His monument, his gravestone beneath it, the Burial Register, and the account of an eyewitness in Mrs. Delaney's *Memoirs*, all

agree in the date of Saturday, April 14. See Mr. Husk's Preface to the Book of Words of the Handel Festival.

³ See Chapter VI.

⁴ Pope's *Works*, iii. 374.

⁵ At the west end of the Nave, where Fox's monument now is. It was there so conspicuous and solitary as to be made a landmark for the processions in the Nave. (See Precentor's

not end even there. Pope fulfilled his promise at his friend's deathbed, but thought the epitaph 'the worst thing he ever wrote in his life,' and Dr. Johnson said of it:

Of this epitaph the first couplet is good, the second not bad; the third is deformed with a broken metaphor, the word *crowned* not being applicable to the *honours* or the *lays*; and the fourth is not only borrowed from the epitaph on Raphael, but of a very harsh construction.¹

After this unfortunate beginning, no painter has been, or probably ever will be, interred within the Abbey. The burial of Sir Joshua Reynolds in St. Paul's has carried with it the commemoration of all future artists in the crypt of that great cathedral.²

Of architects and sculptors Dickinson, the manager who worked under Wren, was buried in the chief site of his achievements—the restored or defaced North Porch; the graves of Chambers, Wyatt and Adam, and the monument of March 18, 1796, Taylor, are in the South Transept, and the tablet of Wyatt, Sept. 28, 1813, Banks in the North Aisle; and in the Nave lie Sir Adam, 1792, Charles Barry, whose grave is adorned, in brass, by a Taylor, 1788, memorial of his own vast work in the adjacent pile Banks, 1805, of the New Palace of Westminster, and Sir Gilbert Barry, May 22, 1860, Scott, the leader of the Gothic revival.

The West Cloister contains the monuments of the two engravers, Vertue—who, as a Roman Catholic, was buried near an old monk, of his family, laid there just before the Dissolution³—and Woollett,⁴ '*Incisor Excellent-issimus.*'

It is a proof of the late, slow, and gradual growth of science in England, that it has not appropriated to itself any special place in the Abbey, but has, almost before we are aware of it, penetrated promiscuously into every part, much in the same way as it has imperceptibly influenced all our social and literary relations elsewhere.

In the middle of the eighteenth century there were two important places vacant in the Nave, on each side of the entrance to the Choir. That on the south was occupied by the monument designed by George Stanhope, son of James, Earl Stanhope, 1746. Kent to the memory of the first Earl Stanhope, and

Book on Queen Caroline's funeral, 1737.) It was moved by Dean Buckland to the south aisle of the Choir.

³ Malcolm's *Londinium*, p. 193; Nichols's *Bonyer*.

¹ *Lives of the Poets*, iii. 211.

⁴ He was buried in old St. Pancras Churchyard.

² Milman's *Annals of St. Paul's*, 475.

MEN OF
SCIENCE.
The monu-
ment of
James,
Philip, and
Charles,
Earl Stan-
hope, 1731,
1758, 1816;
and of
George
Stanhope,
son of James,
Earl Stan-
hope, 1746.

of his second son, and recording also the characters of the second and third Earls of the same proud name, to which has now been added the name of the fifth Earl, distinguished as the historian of the times in which his ancestors played so large a part. They are all buried at Chevening. Collectively, if not singly, they played a part sufficiently conspicuous to account for, if not to justify, so honourable a place in the Abbey.¹ But at the same moment that the artist was designing this memorial of the high-spirited and high-born statesman, he was employed in erecting two other monuments in the Abbey, which outshine every other name, however illustrious by rank or heroic action. One was but a cenotaph, and has been already described—the statue of Shakspeare in Poets' Corner. But the other was to celebrate the actual interment of the only dust of unquestionably world-wide fame that the floor of Westminster covers—of one so far raised above all the political or literary magnates by whom he is surrounded, as to mark an era in the growth of the monumental history of the whole building. On March 28, 1727, the body of Sir Isaac Newton, after lying in state in the Jerusalem Chamber, where it had been brought from his deathbed in Kensington, was attended by the leading members of the Royal Society, and buried at the public cost in the spot in front of the Choir, which, being 'one of the most conspicuous in the Abbey, had been previously refused to various noblemen who had applied for 'it.'² Voltaire was present at the funeral. The selection of this spot for such a purpose marks the moment at which the more sacred recesses in the interior of the church were considered to be closed, or to have lost their special attractions, whilst the publicity of the wide and open spaces hitherto neglected gave them a new importance. On the gravestone³ are written the words, which here acquire a significance of more than usual solemnity—'*Hic depositum quod mortale fuit Isaaci Newtoni.*'⁴ On the monument was intended to have been inscribed the double epitaph of Pope :

Sir Isaac
Newton, died
March 20,
buried
March 28,
1727.

His grave.

His epitaph.

¹ 'Stanhope's noble flame.' (Pope, vi. 376.) The first earl had a public funeral in the Abbey, after which he was privately interred at Chevening, where still hangs the banner used at Westminster.

² *London Gazette*, April 5, 1727.

³ Restored to its place in 1866.

⁴ Johnson had intended, '*Isaacus Newtonius, legibus naturæ investigatis, hic quiescit.*'

ISAACUS NEWTONIUS,
 Quem Immortalem
 Testantur *Tempus, Natura, Cælum* :
 Mortalem
 Hoc marmor fatetur.

Nature and Nature's laws lay hid in night :
 God said, *Let Newton be!*—and all was light.¹

The actual inscription agrees with the actual monument—the one in words, the other in marble allegory, a description of Newton's discoveries, closing with the summary :

Naturæ, antiquitatis, Sanctæ Scripturæ sedulus, sagax, fidus interpres, Dei O. M. majestatem philosophiæ asseruit; Evangelii simplicitatem moribus expressit. Tibi gratulenter mortales, tale tantumque exstitisse humani generis decus.²

His grave, if not actually the centre of the heroes of science, yet attracted two at least of his friends towards the same spot.

One was Martin Ffolkes, his deputy at the Royal Society, of which he ultimately became the President, though, from his Jacobite principles, he never was made a baronet. He is buried in his ancestral place at Hillington, in Norfolk; but his genial character,³ his general knowledge, and his antiquarian celebrity as a numismatist, naturally procured for him a memorial in the North Aisle of the Abbey.

It was erected long afterwards, by the sister-in-law of his daughter Lucretia. The other was his relative and successor in the Mint, John Conduitt, who was buried 'on

'the right side of Sir Isaac Newton,' and whose monument, at the extreme west end of the Nave, was raised (as its inscription states) exactly opposite to his. Incorporated into this, so as to connect the early prodigy of English Astronomy with the name of its maturest development, is the memorial of Jeremiah Horrocks, erected two centuries after the day on which he first observed the Transit of Venus.

Close upon these follows the band of eminent physicians—uniting (as so many since) science⁴ and scholarship with medical skill, and bound by ties, more or less near, to the pre-

¹ Pope, iii. 378.

² See the criticism in the continuator of Stowe, p. 618.

³ Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*; Dibdin's *Bibliomania*.—'He had a striking resemblance to Peireskios, the ornament of the seventeenth cen-

'tury.' His portrait, by Hogarth, is the 'picture of open-hearted English honesty and hospitality, but does not indicate much intellect.' (H. Coleridge's *Northern Worthies*.)

⁴ Dr Willis, in whose house his brother-in-law Fell read the Liturgy

siding genius of Westminster at that period. 'It is a very 'sickly time,'¹ writes the daughter of Atterbury to her exiled father, in announcing the successive deaths of his beloved friends, Chamberlen, Arbuthnot, and Woodward.²

THE PHY-
SICIANS.

Hugh Chamberlen was the last of the eminent race of accoucheurs who brought into the world the royal progeny of the whole Stuart dynasty, from James I. to Anne. He visited Atterbury in the Tower, and Atterbury repaid his friendship by the pains bestowed on his elaborate epitaph, which forms a topic of no less than seven letters in the Bishop's exile.³ It is inscribed on the cenotaph erected to the physician by Atterbury's youthful admirer, the young Edward, Duke of Buckinghamshire.⁴

Chamberlen,
died June
17, 1728.

John Woodward, who was buried in the Nave, at the head of Newton's gravestone, within two months after Newton's death, was, amidst all his eccentricities, philosophical and antiquarian, the founder of English Geology, and of that Cambridge chair which bears his name, and has received an European illustration from the genius of Adam Sedgwick; and his death was received as a blow to science all over Europe—'the first man of his faculty,'⁵ writes Atterbury from his French exile. Beneath the monument of Woodward in the North Aisle of the Nave lies Sir Charles Lyell, the most eminent geologist of our time. Beside the grave of Newton lies Sir John Herschel, whose name, combined with his father's, is the most illustrious of our modern astronomers.

Woodward
died April
28, buried
May 1, 1728.

His rival, John Freind, interred at his own seat at Hitchin, Hertfordshire, has a monument on the opposite side. His close connection with Westminster, through his brother Robert, the Headmaster,⁶ and through his education there, may have led to the monument; but it has an

Freind,
died July 28,
1728; buried
at Hitchin.

under the Commonwealth, and who prescribed for Patrick during Dr. Willis's Plague, was buried in the Abbey in 1675. (Patrick's *Works*, ix. 443.)

¹ Atterbury's *Letters*, iv. 127, 151, 159.

² Another friend of Atterbury, who died at this time, and who lies amongst the many nobles in the Ormond vault, is Charles Boyle, Earl of Orrery, his pupil at Oxford, and author of the Dissertation on Phalaris, which led to the furious controversy with Bentley.

³ Atterbury's *Letters*, pp. 127, 149, 185, 186, 198, 217, 258, 260.

⁴ By a Chapter Order of May 16, 1729 (afterwards rescinded), the Duchess of Buckinghamshire is allowed to take down the screen of the sacrum to erect the monument.

⁵ Atterbury's *Letters*, iv. 244.

⁶ He gave for a theme, on the day after his brother's imprisonment, '*Frater ne desere fratrem*' (Nichols's *Anecdotes*, v. 86, 102), and wrote the epitaph for him, as for many others. Hence Pope's lines—

Freind, for your epitaph I'm grieved,
Where still so much is said,
One half will never be believed,
The other never read.

intrinsic interest from his one eminence as a physician and scholar, and the vicissitudes of his political life—imprisoned in the Tower for his intimacy with Atterbury; released at the promise of Walpole, extorted by his friend Dr. Mead; favourite of George II. and Queen Caroline—an interest independent of any accidental connection with the place. Samuel Wesley's epitaph says of afflicted Physic on this event, 'She mourns with Radcliffe, but she dies with Freind.'¹ Atterbury heard of his death in France with much concern: 'He is lamented by men of all parties at home, and of all countries abroad; for he was known everywhere, and confessed to be at the head of his faculty.'²

Richard Mead is buried in the Temple Church, but his bust also is in the Nave.³ He was the first of that succession of eminent physicians who have been (from this example) sent forth from the homes of Nonconformist ministers. His noble conduct, in refusing to prescribe for Sir R. Walpole till Freind was released from the Tower, and in repaying him all the fees of his patients; his fiery encounter with their joint adversary, Woodward, in the courts of Gresham College; his large and liberal patronage of arts and sciences, give a peculiar charm to the good physician who 'lived more in the broad sunshine of life than almost any man.'⁴

Wetenall and Pringle have tablets in the South, and Winteringham in the North Transept. But the main succession of science is carried on in St. Andrew's Chapel,⁵ which contains busts of Matthew Baillie, the eminent physician, the brother of Joanna, the poetess; of Sir Humphry Davy, the genius of modern chemistry; and of Dr. Young, whose mathematical and hieroglyphical discoveries have outshone his medical fame.⁶ It is probably by an accidental coincidence only that the same corner contains the monument of a benevolent lady, Sarah, Duchess of Somerset, daughter of Dr. Alston, President of the College of Physicians, who devoted

and of
Wetenall,
1733;
Pringle,
1782;
Winteringham,
1794;
Baillie, 1823;
Davy, died
at Geneva,
1829; and
Young, 1829.
Sarah
Alston,
Duchess of
Somerset,
1692.

¹ Nichols, v. 103.

² Atterbury's *Letters*, ii. 320, 384.

³ The inscription was written by Dr. Ward. (Nichols, vi. 216.)

⁴ Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 222.

⁵ Dr. Buchan, author of 'Domestic Medicine,' is buried in the West Cloister (1805).

⁶ Dr. Young's epitaph is by Hudson Gurney. The projected bust was a

failure, hence the medallion is in profile. (Peacock's *Life*, p. 485.) The site was fixed at the particular request of Chantry, to which the Dean (Ireland) acceded, 'knowing from long experience how delicate and honourable his judgment is in all matters relating to the Abbey.' (Chapter Book, July 23, 1834.)

almost the whole of her fortune to charitable bequests in Oxford, Cambridge, Westminster, and Wiltshire. John Hunter, the Founder of modern surgery, had been buried in the vaults of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields Church. From those vaults, just before they were finally closed, his remains were removed by the energy of Mr. Frank Buckland.¹ Animated by a chivalrous devotion to the memory of a great man, he spent sixteen dreary days in the catacombs of that Church, which ended in his triumphant recovery of the relics, and his 'translation' of them to the Nave of the Abbey.

Hunter, died Oct. 18, 1793, removed here, March 28, 1859.

And now, the latest-born of time, comes the practical science of modern days. The earliest that the Abbey contains is Sir Robert Moray, first President of the Royal Society, buried in the South Transept near Davenant, at the charge of Charles II., who through him had made all his scientific communications: 'the life and soul of the Society;' Evelyn's 'dear and excellent friend, that 'good man and accomplished gentleman.'² The strange genius of Sir Samuel Morland³—perfidious secretary of Oliver Cromwell, more creditably known as the first inventor of the speaking-trumpet, the fire-engine, the calculating machine, and, according to some, even of the steam-engine—has left his mark in the South Aisle of the Nave, by the two singular tablets to his first wife, Carola Harsnett, and his second wife, Anne Fielding, whom he married, and buried in the Abbey, within the space of ten years.⁴ It was before these two tablets—which record the merits of Carola and Anne, in Hebrew, Greek, Ethiopic, and English—that Addison paused, and, contrasting them with the extraordinary praises bestowed on the dead in some epitaphs, remarked that 'there were others so excessively modest, that they 'deliver the character of the person departed in 'Greek and Hebrew, and by that means are not understood once in a twelvemonth.'⁵ In the centre of the Nave, in the same grave, were laid the master and apprentice—Tompion and Graham, the fathers of English watchmaking. The slab over their grave, commemorating 'their curious inventions and accurate performances,' was re-

INVENTORS OF PRACTICAL SCIENCE.
Sir Robert Moray, buried July 6, 1673.

Sir Samuel Morland, died 1698.

His wives, Carola, died Oct. 10, 1674; Anne, buried Feb. 24, 1675-80.

Tompion, buried Nov. 25, 1713. Graham, died Nov. 16, buried Nov. 23, 1751.

¹ See the interesting account in his *Curiosities of Natural History*, ii. 160-179.

² Burnet's *Own Time*, i. 90; Evelyn (who attended the funeral), ii. 383.

³ For Morland's Life, see Pepys's *Diary*, and his Autobiography.

⁴ Marriage Register, 1670 and 1676; Burial Register, 1674 and 1679-80.

⁵ *Spectator*, No. 26.

moved at the beginning of the century. This change called forth many an indignant remonstrance from the humble but useful tribe who regarded this gravestone as their Caaba. 'Watch-makers,' says one of them, 'the writer amongst the number, until prevented by recent restrictions, were in the habit of making frequent pilgrimages to the sacred spot: from the inscription and the place, they felt proud of their occupation; and many a secret wish to excel has arisen while silently contemplating the silent resting-place of the two men whose memory they so much revered. Their memory may last, but the slab is gone.'¹

In the South Transept, perhaps from his sacred profession, beside the other divines, was erected (by the mother of George III.) the medallion of Stephen Hales, remarkable as a vegetable physiologist and as the first contriver of ventilators.

But all these lesser representatives of practical science shrink into insignificance, both without and within the Abbey, as its chief representative leaps full-grown into sight in Chantry's gigantic statue of James Watt, the 'Improver of the Steam Engine.' Of all the monuments in the Abbey, perhaps this is the one which provokes the loudest execrations from those who look for uniformity of design, or congeniality with the ancient architecture. Well may the pavement of the church have cracked and yawned, as the enormous monster moved into its place, and 'dis-closed to the eyes of the astonished workmen rows upon rows of gilded coffins in the vaults beneath; into which, but for the precaution of planking the area, workmen and work must have descended, joining the dead in the chamber of death.'² Well might the standard-bearer of Agincourt, and the worthies

Hales, died
Jan 4, 1761;
buried at
Teddington.

James Watt,
died Aug. 19,
1819; buried
at Hand-
sworth, near
Birming-
ham.

¹ Thompson's *Time and Timekeepers*, p. 74.—The passage was pointed out to me by a friend, in consequence of the strong irritation expressed on the subject by an obscure watchmaker in a provincial town. The gravestone, happily, had not been destroyed, and was restored in 1866.

² Cunningham's *Handbook*, p. 23.—It is said that an exalted personage, when visiting this Chapel some twenty years ago, inquired how the statue effected its entrance. No one present was able to answer. An explanation was afterwards given, that the statue

was sunk in a passage tunnelled under the screen, and then lifted into its present place. This, however, was not the case. The pedestal was introduced in three parts over the tomb of Lewis Robsart, and the statue was just able to force its way through the door; although, in anticipation of the passage not being wide enough, permission had been obtained to remove the neighbouring monument of Pulteney. It was at the moment of crossing the threshold that the arch of the vault beneath gave way, as described above. These particulars were communicated

of the Courts of Elizabeth and James, have started from their tombs in St. Paul's Chapel,¹ if they could have seen this colossal champion of a new plebeian art enter their aristocratic resting-place, and take up his position in the centre of the little sanctuary, regardless of all proportion, or style, in the surrounding objects. Yet, when we consider what this vast figure represents, what class of interests before unknown, what revolutions in the whole framework of modern society, equal to any that the Abbey walls have yet commemorated, there is surely a fitness even in its very incongruity; and as we read the long laudation on the pedestal, though we may not think it, as its admirers call it, 'beyond comparison the finest 'lapidary inscription in the English language,' yet, in its vigorous style and scientific enthusiasm, it is not unworthy of the omnigenous knowledge of him who wrote it,² or of the powerful intellect and vast discovery which it is intended to describe.

In the centre of the Nave lie the geographer Rennell, one of the founders of the African Society, Telford, the builder of bridges, and Robert Stephenson, who 'had³ during his 'life expressed a wish that his body should be laid 'near that of Telford; and the son of the Killing- 'worth engineman thus sleeps by the side of the son 'of the Eskdale shepherd,' and over their graves the light falls through the stained-glass windows erected in memory of their brethren in the same art—Locke and Brunel.⁴ Near them, and like them raised by native exertions from obscurity to fame—near also to Rennell—is the grave to which the remains of David Livingstone were brought from the lonely hut in which he died in Central Africa. In some respects it is the most remarkable grave in the Abbey; for it was almost needed to certify the famous traveller's death, so long doubted, and so irresistibly proved by the examination (after the arrival of the remains in England) of the arm frac-

Rennell,
buried April
6, 1830.
Telford,
buried Sept.
10, 1834.
Stephenson,
buried Oct.
21, 1859.
Joseph
Locke,
died 1880.
Brunel, died
1889.

to me by Mr. Weekes, who assisted Chantry in the operation, through the kindness of Mr. Sopwith.

¹ Smiles's *Life of Watt*, p. 507.

² 'It has ever been reckoned one of 'the chief honours of my life,' says Lord Brougham, 'that I was called 'upon to pen the inscription upon the 'noble monument thus nobly reared.'

³ Smiles's *Engineers*, ii. 481. Rennell's monument is at the north-west

corner of the Nave; Telford's in the Chapel of St. Andrew.

⁴ The window erected to Stephenson curiously commemorates the mechanical contrivances of the world, from the Tower of Babel down to the railways; that to Locke, the instances, in the Gospel History, of working on the Sabbath; that to Brunel, the building of the Temple.

tured by the lion, and reset by himself. It testifies also to the marvellous fidelity with which his African servants bore the bones of their dead master, through long months of toil and danger, to the shores of Zanzibar. When Jacob Wainwright, the negro boy, threw the palm branch into the open grave, more moved by the sight of the dead man's coffin than by the vast assemblage which, from floor to clerestory, crowded the Abbey, it was felt that the Lanarkshire pioneer of Christian civilisation, the greatest African traveller of all time, had not laboured altogether in vain.

We have now gone through all the monuments and graves that attach themselves to the history of our country. There still remains the thin dark thread of those who, without PRIVATE MONUMENTS. historical or official claims, have crept into the Abbey, often, we must regret to think, from the carelessness of those who had the charge of it in former times. The number of those who lie within or close around the Abbey must be not less than three thousand. Goldsmith, in his 'Citizen of the World,' has a bitter satire on the guardianship of 'the sordid priests, 'who are guilty, for a superior reward, of taking down the 'names of good men to make room for others of equivocal 'character, or of giving other but true merit a place in that 'awful sanctuary.'¹

O fond attempt to give a deathless lot
To names ignoble, born to be forgot!

Still, even amongst these, there are claims upon our attention of various kinds, which deserve a passing notice.

One class of obscure names belongs to the less distinguished among 'the Nobles,' who with the Kings and Queens had THE NOBILITY. anciently claimed interment within the Abbey. Most of these lie, as we have seen, in the Ormond vault, coffins upon coffins, piled under the massive masonry of the Protectorate. Others repose in the same Chapel within the ducal vaults of Richmond, Buckingham, Monk, and Argyle. But amongst the special burial-places of the aristocracy,² three may be selected, as belonging rather to the course of private than of public history, yet still with an interest of their own.

¹ Goldsmith, ii. 44. Compare Walpole's *Letters*, iii. 427.

² In the North Aisle lies Almeric de Courcy, descended from John de Courcy, who 'obtained from King John the

'extraordinary privilege for Almeric de himself and his heirs, of Courcy, 1719. 'being covered before the king.' (Epitaph.)

In the Chapel of St. Nicholas is the vault in which, owing to the marriage of Charles, 'the proud Duke of Somerset,' with the heiress of the Percys, the House of Percy has from that time been interred, under the monument of the ancient Duchess of Somerset, widow of the Protector; Charles and his wife were buried in Salisbury Cathedral, but their son Algernon was interred in this vault; and his daughter and sole heiress was Elizabeth Percy, the first Duchess of Northumberland, who died on her sixtieth birthday, and was the first of her name interred in the Percy vault. She was conspicuous both for her extensive munificence, and for her patronage of literature, of which the 'Percy Reliques' are the living monument. By her own repeated desire, the funeral was to be 'as private as her rank 'would admit.' The crowd collected was, however, so vast that the officiating clergy and choir could scarcely make their way from the west door to the chapel. Just as the procession had passed St. Edmund's Chapel, the whole of the screen, including the canopy of John of Eltham's tomb,¹ came down with a crash, which brought with it the men and boys who had clambered to the top of it to see the spectacle, and severely wounded many of those below. The uproar and confusion put a stop to the ceremony for two hours. The body was left in the ruined Chapel, and the Dean did not return till after midnight, when the funeral was completed, but still amidst 'cries of murder, 'raised by such of the sufferers as had not been removed.'²

Another very different race is that of the Delavals. Of that ancient northern family, whose ancestor carried the standard at Hastings, two were remarkable for their own distinctions—Admiral Delaval³ (companion of Sir Cloudesley Shovel) and Edward Hussey Delaval, last of the male line, who was the author of various philosophical works,⁴ and lies buried amongst the philosophers in the Nave. But Lord and Lady Delaval, with their daughter Lady Tyrconnell, and their nephew's wife Lady Mexborough,⁵ are interred in or close to St. Paul's Chapel,

Elizabeth
Percy,
Duchess of
Northum-
berland,
buried Dec.
18, 1776.

Admiral
Delaval,
buried Jan.
23, 1706-7.
E. H. Dela-
val, 1814.
Lord Dela-
val, 1808.
Lady Dela-
val, 1793.
Lady Mex-
borough,
1821.

¹ See Chapter III. p. 121.

² *Annual Register*, xix. 197; *Gent. Mag.* [1776], p. 576. This is the only private vault which still continues to receive interments. Amongst those of our own time (1864) may be especially mentioned the rebuilder of Alnwick, distinguished by a princely munificence

worthy of his ancestors.

³ Charnock's *Naval Biog.* ii. 10.

⁴ *Gent. Mag.* 1814, pt. ii. p. 293.

⁵ Another reason has been sometimes assigned for the position of Lady Mexborough's monument; but this family connection is, perhaps, sufficient.

where the banners—the last vestiges of a once general custom—hang over their graves.¹ Their pranks at Seaton Delaval² belong to the history of Northumberland, and of the dissolute state of English society at the close of the last century; and in the traditions of the North still survives the memory of the pomp which, at every stage of the long journey from Northumberland to London, accompanied the remains of the wildest of the race—Lady Tyrconnell.³

Another trace of the strange romances of the North of England is the grave of Mary Eleanor Bowes, Countess of Strathmore, who, a few months before the funeral (just described) of her neighbour Lady Tyrconnell,⁴ was buried in the South Transept, in the last year of the past century, after adventures which ought to belong to the Middle Ages.

It is touching to observe how many are commemorated from their extreme youth. Not only, as in the case of eminent persons—like Purcell, or Francis Horner, or Charles Buller, where the Abbey commemorates the promise of glories not yet fully developed—but in the humbler classes of life, the sigh over the premature loss is petrified into stone, and affects the more deeply from the great events amidst which it

is enshrined. ‘Jane Lister, dear child, died October 7, 1688.’ ‘Her brother Michael had already died in

1676, and been buried at Helen’s Church, York.’⁵ In that eventful year of the Revolution, when Church and State were reeling to their foundations, this ‘dear child’ found her quiet

resting-place in the Eastern Cloister. In that same year too a few months before, another still more insignificant life—Nicholas Bagnall, ‘an infant of two months old,’⁶ by his nurse unfortunately overlaid—has his own little urn amongst the Cecils and Percys in St. Nicholas’s Chapel.⁷

¹ Neale, ii. 181.

² Howitt’s *Visits to Remarkable Places* (2nd series), pp. 354–374.

³ Register, November 4, 1800.

⁴ Howitt, p. 198.

⁵ This seems to show that her father must have been Dr. Lister, author of a ‘Journey to Paris,’ and other works on Natural History, who came from York to London in 1683. He is buried at Clapham, with his first wife, who is there described as his ‘dear wife.’ There is no Register in St. Helen’s at York between 1649 and 1690.

⁶ He was buried with an infant brother (September 5, 1684) in the grave which afterwards received his mother, Lady Anne Charlotte Bagnall, daughter of the second Earl of Elgin (March 13, 1712–13), wife of Nicholas Bagnall, of Plas Newydd, in Wales. It would seem that the unhappy nurse never forgot the misfortune, and in her will begged to be buried near the child. (Chester’s *Registers*, 220.)

⁷ Close by is the urn of Anna Sophia the infant daughter of Har- Harley, 1685. ley, French Ambassador to James II.



THE NIGHTINGALE MONUMENT.

In the Little Cloisters is a tablet to 'Mr. Thomas Smith, of Elmly Lovet . . . who through the spotted veil of the small-pox rendered a pure and unspotted soul to God, expecting but not fearing death.'¹ Young Carteret, a Westminster scholar, who died at the age of 19, and is buried in the North Aisle of the Choir, with the chiefs of his house, is touchingly commemorated by the pretty Sapphic verses of Dr. Freind.²

Thomas Smith, aged 27, March 11, 1683-4. Carteret, aged 19, March 26, 1711.

In the Nave several young midshipmen are commemorated. Amongst them is William Dalrymple, who at the age of 18 was killed in a desperate engagement off the coast of Virginia, 'leaving to his once happy parents 'the endearing remembrance of his virtues.'

William Dalrymple, aged 18, 1742.

Other tombs represent the intensity of the mourners' grief. In St. Andrew's Chapel, Lord Kerry's monument to his wife, 'who had rendered him for thirty-one years the 'happiest of mankind,' retained at its north end, till a few months before his own interment in the same tomb, the cushion on which, year after year, he came to kneel.³ Opposite to it is the once admired 'monument raised by her son to commemorate the premature death of Lady Elizabeth Shirley,⁴ daughter of Washington, Earl Ferrers, wife of Joseph Gascoigne Nightingale, and sister of Lady Selina, Countess of Huntingdon,⁶ foundress of the Calvinistic sect which bears her name. This spot (apart from her grave in the area beneath Queen Eleanor's tomb) was doubtless selected as affording better light and space ;

MONUMENTS OF MOURNERS.

Lady Kerry, 1799. Lord Kerry, 1818.

Lady Elizabeth Nightingale, 1731.

¹ There was a like monument in the North Cloister to R. Booker, a Westminster scholar, who died of small-pox in 1655. (*Seymour's Story*, p. 582.)

² It was probably from a feeling of this kind that a splendid though private funeral was awarded in Poets' Corner to Lieutenant Riddell, who in 1783 was killed in a duel. (*Gent. Mag.* 1783, 362-443.)

³ Akermann, ii. 189.

⁴ 'Mrs. Nightingale's monument has not been praised beyond its merit. The attitude and expression of the husband in endeavouring to shield his wife from the dart of Death is natural and affecting. But I always thought that the image of Death would be much better represented with an extinguished torch than with a dart.' (Burke on his first visit to the Abbey: *Prior's Burke*, 32.) 'I once more took a serious walk through the tombs

of Westminster Abbey. What heaps of unmeaning stone and marble! But there was one tomb which showed common sense: that beautiful figure of Mr. Nightingale endeavouring to shield his lovely wife from Death. Here, indeed, the marble seems to speak, and the statues appear only 'not alive.' (*Wesley's Journal*, Feb. 16, 1764.)

⁵ It was really a monument to Mr. Nightingale. (See Chapter Book, February 13, 1758.) His wife was aged 27, he 56. For a curious story connected with Lord Brougham's father and the digging of her grave, see Lord Brougham's *Memoirs*, i. 205. But she died 11 years before his birth.

⁶ Two of her sons are buried in the North Transept, where a monument was to have been erected to them. (Chapter Book, March 3, 1743-34.)

and in order to accommodate the monument, the effigy of Lady Catherine St. John was removed to the Chapel of St. Nicholas. The husband vainly trying to scare the spectre of Death from his wife is probably one of the most often remembered sights of the Abbey. It was when working at this elaborate structure that Roubiliac made the exclamation (already quoted) on the figure in the neighbouring tomb of Sir Francis Vere.¹ It was also whilst engaged on the figure of Death, that he one day, at dinner, suddenly dropped his knife and fork on his plate, fell back in his chair, and then darted forwards, and threw his features into the strongest possible expression of fear—fixing his eyes so expressively on the country lad who waited, as to fill him with astonishment. A tradition of the Abbey records that a robber, coming into the church by moonlight, was so startled by the same figure as to have fled in dismay, and left his crowbar on the pavement.²

Other monuments record the undying friendship, or family affection, which congregated round some loved object. Such are Mary Kendall's tomb in St. Paul's Chapel, and the tombs of the Gethin,³ Norton, and Freke families in the South Aisle of the Choir. Such is the monument which, in the East Cloister, records Pope's friendship with General Withers and Colonel Disney (commonly called Duke Disney), who resided together at Greenwich. Gay, in his poem on Pope's imaginary return from Greece, thus describes them:—

MONUMENTS
OF FRIENDS.

Mary
Kendall,
1709-10.
Grace
Gethin, 1697.

Now pass we Gravesend with a friendly wind,
And Tilbury's white fort, and long Blackwall;
Greenwich, where dwells the friend of human kind
More visited than either park or hall,
Withers the good, and (with him ever joined)
Facetious Disney, greet thee first of all.
I see his chimney smoke, and hear him say,
Duke! that's the room for Pope, and that for Gay.⁴

¹ Or at the north-west corner of Lord Norris's monument. (Smith's *Life of Nollekens*, ii. 86.) See p. 191.

² The crowbar, which was found under the monument, is still preserved.

³ For Grace Gethin see Ballard's *Illustrious Ladies*, p. 263; and D'Iraeli's *Curiosities of Literature*.—She left a bequest for an anniversary sermon

to be preached for her in the Abbey every Ash-Wednesday. Her celebrity arose, in part, from a book of extracts, which were mistakenly supposed to be original. She is buried at Hollingbourne, near Maidstone, where her epitaph records a vision shortly before her death.

⁴ Pope's *Works*, iii. 375.

Pope's epitaph carries on the same strain after Withers's death:—

Withers,
died 1729.

Here, Withers, rest ! thou bravest, gentlest mind,
Thy country's friend, but more of human kind.
O born to arms ! O worth in youth approv'd !
O soft humanity, in age belov'd !
For thee the hardy vet'ran drops a tear,
And the gay courtier feels the sigh sincere.

Withers, adieu ! yet not with thee remove
Thy martial spirit, or thy social love !
Amidst corruption, luxury, and rage,
Still leave some ancient virtues to our age :
Nor let us say (those English glories gone),
The last true Briton lies beneath this stone !¹

And 'Duke Disney' closes the story in the touching record,
that 'Colonel Henry Disney, surviving his friend and
companion, Lieutenant-General Withers, but two
years and ten days, is at his desire buried in the same grave
with him.'

Disney, died
1721.

MONUMENTS
OF LONG-
EVITY.

Anne
Birkhead,
aged 102,
1568.

Others have gained entrance by their longevity. There are
three whose lives embrace three whole epics of English
History. The epitaph of Anne Birkhead (now effaced)
in the Cloisters, seen by Camden when it was still a
fresh wonder, recorded that she died on August 25,
1568, at the age of 102—

An auncient age of many years
Here lived, Anne, thou hast,
Pale death hath fixed his fatal force
Upon thy corpse at last.

In the centre of the South Transept, amongst the poets, by a
not unnatural affinity, was buried Thomas Parr, the
patriarch of the seventeenth century, 'the old, old,
'very old man,' on whose gravestone it is recorded that he
lived to the age of 152, through the ten reigns from Edward
IV. to Charles I. He was brought up to Westminster, two
months before his death, by the Earl of Arundel, 'a great
'lover of antiquities.' 'He was found on his death to be
'covered with hair.' Many were present at his burial, 'doing
'homage to this our aged *Thomas de Temporibus.*'² In the

Thomas
Parr, aged
152, 1635.

¹ Pope's *Works*, iii. 375.

² Fuller's *Worthies*, p. 68. For the

doubt as to his age, see Mr. Thoms on
the *Longevity of Man*, pp. 85-94.

West Cloister lies Elizabeth Woodfall, daughter of the famous printer, who carried on the remembrance of Junius to our own time, when she died in Dean's Yard at the age of 93.

Elizabeth
Woodfall,
aged 93,
1862.

Connected with these by a curious coincidence of long life are several illustrious foreigners. Casaubon, St. Evremond, Grabe, and the Duke of Montpensier, have been already mentioned.

MONUMENTS
OF FOREIGN-
ERS.

But in the Chapel of St. Paul, with his wife and daughter near him, lies Ezekiel Spanheim, a Genevese by birth, but student at Leyden and professor at Heidelberg, who died in England, as Prussian minister, in his eighty-first year—the Bunsen of his time, uniting German research into scholarship and theology with the labours of his diplomatic profession.

Spanheim,
aged 80,
1710.

Peter Courayer, the Blanco White of the eighteenth century—endeared to the English Church, and estranged from the Roman Church, by his vindication, whilst yet at the Sorbonne, of the validity of Anglican Orders—had been already, before his escape from France, attached to the Precincts of Westminster by his friendship with the exiled Atterbury,¹ who had hanging in his room a portrait of Courayer, which he bequeathed to the University of Oxford. He lived and died in Downing Street, in close intimacy with Dr. Bell, one of the Prebendaries, chaplain to the Princess Amelia. Dr. Bell afterwards published Courayer's 'Last Sentiments,' which were of the extreme latitude in theology; and by him Courayer was, at his own request, buried, in his ninety-fifth year, in the Southern Cloister. His epitaph, by his friend Kynaston, of Brasenose College, Oxford, was put up too hastily before the author's last revision.²

Courayer,
aged 95,
1776.

In the Chapel of St. Andrew, close to the Nightingale monument, lies 'Theodore Phaliologus.'³ There can be little doubt that he is the eldest of the five children of 'Theodoro Paleologus, of Pesaro, in Italye, descended from the imperial lyne of the last Christian Emperors of Greece; being the sonne of Camilio, the sonne of Prosper, the sonne of Theodoro, the sonne of John, the sonne of Thomas,

Theodore
Paleologus,
buried May
3, 1644.

¹ See Atterbury's *Letters*, iv. 97, 103, 133.

² A correct copy is given in Nichols's *Bowyer*, p. 545.

³ 'Theodore Phaliologus, buried

'near the Lady St. John's tomb, 'May 3, 1644.' (Register.) For the removal of Lady St. John's tomb, see p. 305.

'second brother of Constantine Paleologus, the eighth of that name, and last of that lyne that rayned in Constantinople until subdued by the Turks: who married with Mary, the daughter of William Balls, of Hadlye, in Souffolke, Gent., and had issue five children—*Theodoro*, John, Ferdinando, Maria, and Dorothy—and departed this life at Clyfton, the 21st of January 1636.'¹ There is a letter from him at Plymouth in French, addressed to the Duke of Buckingham, on March 19, 1628-29, asking for employment and appealing to his noble birth.² He was lieutenant in Lord St. John's³ regiment, and was probably on that account buried close to Lady St. John's tomb.

In the South Aisle of the Nave is a tablet to Sir John Chardin, the famous explorer of Persia, who, though born in France, and

writing in French, ultimately settled in England, and died at Chiswick.⁴ It contains his name and a motto fit for all great travellers, *Nomen sibi fecit eundo*. Pascal Paoli, the champion of Corsican independence, died in

Sir John Chardin, buried at Chiswick, 1718.
Paoli, died Feb. 5, 1807; buried at St. Pancras.

his eighty-second year, under the protection of England.

His bust, which looks from the Southern Aisle towards Poets' Corner, was erected not merely from the general esteem in which he was held, but from his close connection with the whole Johnsonian circle, of whom he was the favourite. 'General Paoli had the loftiest port of any man I have ever seen.'⁵ He was buried in the old Roman Catholic cemetery at St. Pancras, from which, in 1867, his remains were removed to Corsica.

¹ From a brass tablet, with the Imperial eagle at the top, in the parish church of Landulph in Cornwall, the feet resting on the two gates of Rome and Constantinople. (*Gent. Mag.* [1775], p. 80; 1793, p. 716; *Arch.* xviii. 83; *Some Notices of Landulph Church*, by the Rector, 1841, pp. 24-26.) This curious pedigree was pointed out to me by Mr. Edmund Ffoulkes. Ferdinando must be the emigrant to Barbadoes, of whom a very interesting account appears in *Gent. Mag.* 1843, pt. ii. p. 28. The Greeks, in their War of Independence, are said to have sent to inquire whether any of the family remained; offering, if such were the case, to equip a ship and proclaim him for their lawful sovereign. He had a son 'Theodorus' who is probably the same as Theodore Paleology, a mariner, whose will was signed August 1, 1693, and proved in the

Prerogative Court of Canterbury, March 9, 1694. The only information which it gives respecting his family, is that he left as his executrix his widow Martha. The conjecture in *Archæologia* (xviii. 93), that this sailor was the son of the Paleologus buried in Cornwall, is therefore unfounded. It is said that a member of the family is still living. For further particulars, see *Notes and Queries*, 3rd series, vii. pp. 403, 586; xii. p. 30.

² Calendars of State Papers, Domestic Times, vol. xcvi. No. 47 (see *Life of Constantine Rhodocanakis*, by Prince Rhodocanakis, p. 38).

³ Army List of Roundheads and Cavaliers. I owe this identification to Colonel Chester.

⁴ His son and heir, Sir John Chardin, created a baronet, was buried near his father's monument, 1756.

⁵ Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 83.

In the East Cloister is a tablet erected to a young Bernese noble of the name of Steigerr, the remembrance of whose promising character still lingers in the Canton of Berne. In the North Transept, under the monument of Holles, Duke of Newcastle, are interred three remarkable persons, transferred in 1739-40 from the French church in the Savoy—Louis Duras, Earl of Feversham, nephew of Turenne, 'who had learned from his uncle how to devastate, 'though not how to conquer!'¹ and Armand de Bourbon, with his sister Charlotte, who died at an advanced age,² having come to England before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, when he pleaded the cause of the Camisards to Queen Anne, and meditated an invasion of France, with the view of assisting the insurrection in the Cevennes. His brother Louis, Marquis de la Caye, was killed amongst the Huguenot regiments at the Battle of the Boyne.³

Steigerr,
buried Dec.
28, 1772.

Duras,
Earl of
Feversham,
died April
8, 1709.
Armand de
Bourbon,
died Feb. 12,
1732-3.
Charlotte de
Bourbon,
died Oct.
15, 1732;
removed to
the Abbey,
March 21,
1739-40.

One other 'translation' must be noticed. In the North Cloister lie the supposed remains of William Lyndwood, the celebrated Canonist and Ritualist Bishop of St. David's, which were found on January 16, 1852, in St. Stephen's Chapel, in the Palace of Westminster, where he was consecrated in 1442, 'in a roughly-formed cavity, cut 'into the foundation-wall of the north side of the Crypt, 'beneath the stone seat in the easternmost window.'

Lyndwood,
died Oct.
21, 1446;
removed
March 6,
1852.

¹ Macaulay, ii. 195.

² *La France Protestante*, De Haag, ii. 478, which gives the age of Armand as 77 (and the date of his death February 25, 1732), and that of Charlotte as 74. I owe this information to the kindness of M. Jules Bonnet.

³ NOTE FROM BURIAL REGISTER, 1739-40, now inscribed on the grave.—'Louis de Duras, Earl of Feversham, etc., died April 8, 1709, in the sixty-ninth year of his age.

'Cy gist très haut et très puissant Seigneur, Monseigneur Armand de Bourbon, Marquis de Miremont, etc., à qui Dieu a fait la grâce de faire naître en sa sainte Religion Réformée et d'y persévérer malgré les grandes promesses de Louis mesme dans sa plus tendre jeunesse; né dans le Chateau de la Cate en Languedoc le 12 juillet 1656, décédé en Angleterre le 12 févr. 1732.' [He was buried in

the French church of the Savoy, February 22, 1732-33].

'Cy gist Charlotte de Bourbon, à qui Dieu a fait la grâce de naître, de vivre et de mourir dans sa sainte Religion, la gloire en soit à jamais rendue à la ste. bénite et adorable Trinité,—Père, Fils et St.-Esprit. Amen. 'décédée en Angleterre le 14 octobre 1732, âgée de 73 ans.' She was buried in the French church of the Savoy, October 21, 1732.

'And the bodies of the said Earl of Feversham, Monsieur Armand de Bourbon, and Charlotte de Bourbon, being deposited in a vault in the Chapel in the Savoy, were taken up and interred, on the 21st day of March 1739, in one grave in the North Cross of the Abbey, even with the North Corner, and touching the plinth of the iron rails of the monument of the Duke and Duchess of Newcastle, 3 ft. 0 in. deep.'

Lastly, the Cloisters,¹ long after the Abbey had been closed against them, became the general receptacle of the humbler officers and retainers of the Court and of the Chapter.

MONUMENTS
OF SER-
VANTS.

Contrasted with the reticence of modern times on faithful services, which live only in the grateful memory of those who profit by them, three records attract special notice. One is of the blind scholar, Ambrose Fisher, who after having, first at Cambridge, and then at Westminster (where he lived in the house of Dr. Grant, one of the Prebendaries), 'freely, unrestrainedly, cheerfully imparted his knowledge, whether in philosophy or divinity, to 'many young scholars,'—was buried near the library.

Ambrose
Fisher, 1617.

—Nunc est positus mutam prope Bibliothecam,
Ipse loquens quoniam bibliotheca fuit.

So wrote Ayton. Another poet and scholar of Westminster, entering into the general sentiment of the Cloisters, wrote—

Men, women, children, all that pass this way,
Whether such as here walk, or talk, or play,
Take notice of the holy ground y' are on,
Lest you profane it with oblivion :
Remember with due sorrow that here lies
The learned Fisher, he whose darkened eyes,
Gave light which as the midday circulates
To either sex, each age, and all estates.²

Another is that of the servant of one of the Prebendaries, full of the quaint conceits of the seventeenth century :—

Lawrence,
1621.

With diligence and trust most exemplary,
Did William Lawrence serve a Prebendary ;
And for his paines now past, before not lost,
Gain'd this remembrance at his master's cost.
O read these lines againe : you seldome find
A servant faithful, and a master kind.
Short-hand he wrote : his flowre in prime did fade,
And hasty Death short-hand of him hath made.
Well covth he numbers, and well mesur'd land ;
Thus doth he now that ground whereon you stand,
Wherein he lyes so geometricall :
Art maketh some, but thus will nature all.

¹ Sir R. Coxe, Taster to Elizabeth and James I., has a tablet in the South Transept (Stone was paid £30 for it. Walpole's *Anecdotes*); Clement Saunders, Carver to Charles

II., James II., and William III., in the North Transept.

² Grant's preface to Fisher's defence of the Liturgy: Epitaphs by Ayton and Harris.

A third is that of John Broughton, one of the Yeomen of the Guard. He was a man of gigantic strength, and in his youth furnished the model of the arms of Rysbrack's ^{Broughton, 1789.} 'Hercules.' He was the 'Prince of Prizefighters' in his time, and after his name on the gravestone is a space, which was to have been filled up with the words 'Champion of England.'¹ The Dean objected, and the blank remains.

It is natural to conclude this survey of the monumental structure of the Abbey with the reflections of Addison:— ^{Conclusion of the survey.}

When I am in a serious humour, I very often walk by myself in Westminster Abbey; where the gloominess of the place, and the use to which it is applied, with the solemnity of the building, and the condition of the people who lie in it, are apt to fill the mind with a kind of melancholy, or rather thoughtfulness, that is not disagreeable. . . . I know that entertainments of this nature are apt to raise dark and dismal thoughts in timorous minds and gloomy imaginations; but for my own part, though I am always serious, I do not know what it is to be melancholy; and can therefore take a view of nature, in her deep and solemn scenes, with the same pleasure as in her most gay and delightful ones. By this means I can improve myself with those objects which others consider with terror. When I look upon the tombs of the great, every emotion of envy dies in me; when I read the epitaphs of the beautiful, every inordinate desire goes out; when I meet with the grief of parents upon a tombstone, my heart melts with compassion; when I see the tomb of the parents themselves, I consider the vanity of grieving for those whom we must quickly follow; when I see kings lying by those who deposed them, when I consider rival wits placed side by side, or the holy men that divided the world with their contests and disputes, I reflect with sorrow and astonishment on the little competitions, factions, and debates of mankind. When I read the several dates of the tombs, of some that died yesterday, and some six hundred years ago, I consider that great day when we shall all of us be contemporaries, and make our appearance together.²

Our purpose has been somewhat different, though converging to the same end. We have seen how, by a gradual but certain instinct, the main groups have formed themselves round particular centres of death: how ^{Gradual growth of the Monuments.} the Kings ranged themselves round the Confessor; how the Prince and Courtiers clung to the skirts of the Kings;

¹ These facts were communicated to the master-mason of the Abbey (Mr. Poole) by Broughton's son-in-law.

² *Spectator*, No. 26.

how out of the graves of the Courtiers were developed the graves of the Heroes; how Chatham became the centre of the Statesmen, Chaucer of the Poets, Purcell of the Musicians, Casaubon of the Scholars, Newton of the Men of Science: how, even in the exceptional details, natural affinities may be traced; how Addison was buried apart from his brethren in letters, in the royal shades of Henry VII.'s Chapel, because he clung to the vault of his own loved Montague; how Ussher lay beside his earliest instructor, Sir James Fullerton, and Garrick at the foot of Shakspeare, and Spelman opposite his revered Camden, and South close to his master Busby, and Stephenson to his fellow-craftsman Telford, and Grattan to his hero Fox, and Macaulay beneath the statue of his favourite Addison.

These special attractions towards particular graves and monuments may interfere with the general uniformity of the Abbey, but they make us feel that it is not a mere dead museum, that its cold stones are warmed with the life-blood of human affections and personal partiality. It is said that the celebrated French sculptor of the monument of Peter the Great at St. Petersburg, after showing its superiority in detail to the famous equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius at Rome, ended by the candid avowal, '*Et cependant cette mauvaise bête est vivante, et la mienne est morte.*' Perhaps we may be allowed to reverse the saying, and, when we contrast the irregularities of Westminster Abbey with the uniform congruity of Salisbury or the Valhalla, may reflect, '*Cette belle bête est morte, mais la mienne est vivante.*'

We have seen, again, how extremely unequal and uncertain is the commemoration of our celebrated men. It is this which renders the interment or notice within our walls a dubious honour, and makes the Abbey, after all, but an imperfect and irregular monument of greatness. But it is this also which gives to it that perfectly natural character of which any artificial collection is entirely destitute. In the Valhalla of Bavaria, every niche is carefully portioned out: and if a single bust is wanting from the catalogue of German worthies, its absence becomes the subject of a literary controversy, and the vacant space is at last filled. Not so in the Abbey: there, as in English institutions generally, no fixed rule has been followed. Graves have been opened or closed, monuments erected or not erected, from the most various feelings of the time. It is the general wave only that has borne in the

Uncertain
distribution
of honours.

chief celebrities. Viewed in this way, the absences of which we speak have a touching significance of their own. They are eloquent of the force of domestic and local affection over the desire for metropolitan or cosmopolitan distinction—eloquent of the force of the political and ecclesiastical prejudice at the moment—eloquent also of the strange caprices of the British public.¹ Why is it that of the three greatest names of English literature—Shakspeare, Bacon, and Newton—the last only is interred, and the second not even recorded, in the Abbey? Because the growth of the sentiment which drew the dust of our illustrious men hitherward was in Elizabeth's time but just beginning. Why are men so famous as Burke and Peel amongst statesmen, as Pope and Gray, Wordsworth and Southey amongst poets, not in the Statesmen's or the Poets' Corner? Because the patriarchal feeling in each of these men—so different each from the other, yet alike in this—drew them from the neighbourhood of the great, with whom they consorted in the tumult of life, to the graves of father and mother, or beloved child, far away to the country churchyards where they severally repose—in each, perhaps, not unmingled with the longing desire for a simple resting-place which is expressed in Pope's epitaph on himself at Twickenham,² and in Burke's³ reflections during his first visit to the Abbey. Why is it that Montague Earl of Sandwich, Monk Duke of Albemarle, restorers of the monarchy, Archbishop Ussher, the glory of the Irish Church, Clarendon, the historian of the great Rebellion, rest here with no contemporary monument—three of them with none at all?⁴ That

¹ Another disturbing force has in late years been found in the attraction of St. Paul's. The first public monument erected there was that of Howard. (See Milman's *Annals*, p. 480.) The first intimation of the new feeling is in Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 226. (1773.) 'A proposition which had been agitated, that monuments to eminent persons should, for the time to come, be erected in St. Paul's church, as well as in Westminster Abbey, was mentioned; and it was asked who should be honoured by having his monument first erected there. Somebody suggested Pope. JOHNSON: "Why, sir, as Pope was a Roman Catholic, I would not have his to be first. I think Milton's rather should have the precedence. I think more highly of him now than

"I did at twenty. There is more thinking in him and in Butler than in any of our poets."

² See p. 269.

³ 'I have not the least doubt that the finest poem in the English language, I mean Milton's "Il Penseroso," was composed in the long-resounding aisle of a mouldering cloister or ivy'd abbey. Yet, after all, do you know that I would rather sleep in the southern corner of a country churchyard than in the tomb of the Capulets. I should like, however, that my dust should mingle with kindred dust. The good old expression, "family burying ground," has something pleasing in it, at least to me.' (Prior's *Life of Burke*, i. 39.)

⁴ See pp. 210, 213.

blank void tells again in the bare stones the often repeated story of the ingratitude of Charles II. towards those to whom he owed so much and gave so little. Why is it that poets like Coleridge, Scott, and Burns, discoverers like Harvey and Bell, have no memorial? Because, for the moment, the fashion of public interment had drifted away from the Abbey, or lost heed of departing greatness in other absorbing interests, or ceased to regard proportion in the distribution of sepulchral honours.

It is well that this should be so. Westminster Abbey is, as Dr. Johnson well said,¹ the natural resting-place of those great men who have no bond elsewhere. Its metropolitan position has, in this respect, powerfully contributed to its fame. But even London is, or ought to be, insignificant compared with England; even Westminster Abbey must at times yield to the more venerable, more enduring claims of home and of race. Those quiet graves far away are the Poets' Corners of a yet vaster temple; or may we take it yet another way, and say that Stratford-on-Avon and Dryburgh, Stoke Pogis and Grasmere, are chapels-of-ease united by invisible cloisters with Westminster Abbey itself?

Again, observe how magnificently the strange conjunction of tombs in what has been truly called this Temple of Silence and Reconciliation exemplifies the wide toleration of

The Toleration of the Abbey.

Death—may we not add, the comprehensiveness of the true religion of the Church of England? Not only does Elizabeth lie in the same vault with Mary her persecutor, and in the same chapel with Mary her victim; not only does Pitt lie side by side with Fox, and Macpherson with Johnson, and Outram with Clyde; but those other deeper differences, which are often thought to part more widely asunder than any political or literary or military jealousy, have here sunk into abeyance. Goldsmith in his visit to the Abbey, puts into the mouth of his Chinese philosopher an exclamation of wonder that the guardianship of a national temple should be confided to 'a college of priests.' It is not necessary to claim for the Deans of Westminster any exemption from the ordinary infirmities of their profession; but the variety of the monuments, in country and in creed, as well as in taste and in politics, is a proof that the successive chiefs who have held the keys of St. Peter's Abbey

¹ See p. 279. Compare Beattie's lines.

'Let Vanity adorn the marble tomb
With trophies, rhymes, and scutcheons of re-
nown;

'Mid the deep dungeons of some Gothic dome
Where night and desolation ever frown.
Mine be the breezy hill, &c.

have, on the whole, risen to the greatness of their situation, and have endeavoured to embrace, within the wide sympathy of their consecrated precincts, those whom a narrow and sectarian spirit might have excluded, but whom the precepts of their common Master, no less than the instincts of their common humanity, should have bid them welcome. The exclusiveness of Englishmen has given away before the claims of the French Casaubon, the Swiss Spanheim, the Corsican Paoli. The exclusiveness of Churchmen has allowed the entrance of the Nonconformist Watts, of the Roman Catholic Dryden.¹ Courayer, the foreign latitudinarian, Ephraim Chambers, the sceptic of the humbler, and Sheffield, the sceptic of the higher ranks, were buried with all respect and honour by the 'college of priests' at Westminster, who thus acknowledged that the bruised reed was not to be broken, nor the smoking flax quenched. Even the yet harder problem of high intellectual gifts, united with moral infirmity or depravity, has on the whole here met with the only solution which on earth can be given. If Byron was turned from our doors, many a one as questionable as Byron has been admitted. Close above the monument of the devoted Granville Sharpe is the monument of the epicurean St. Evremond. Close beneath the tablet of the blameless Wharton lies the licentious Congreve. The godlike gift of genius was recognised—the baser earthly part was left to the merciful judgment of its Creator. So long as Westminster Abbey maintains its hold on the affections of the English Church and nation, so long will it remain a standing proof that there is in the truest feelings of human nature, and in the noblest aspirations of religion, something deeper and broader than the partial judgments of the day and the technical distinctions of sects,—even than the just, though for the moment misplaced, indignation against the errors and sins of our brethren. It is the involuntary homage which perverted genius pays to the superior worth of goodness, that it seeks to be at last honoured within the building consecrated to the purest hopes of the soul of man; and when we consent to receive such within our walls, it is the best acknowledgment of the truth uttered by the Christian poet—

There is no light but Thine—with Thee all beauty glows.

¹ Several Roman Catholics, since the Reformation, have been buried in the Abbey, besides those before enumerated. Lord Stafford (1719) and others of his

family in St. Edmund's Chapel, with *Requiescat in pace* on their coffins (Register); De Castro, the Portuguese envoy, in the Nave, 1720 (*ibid.*).

There is yet another interest attaching to the tombs, even the worst and humblest—namely, as a record of the vicissitudes of art. Doubtless, this is shared by Westminster Abbey, with other great cathedrals and churches. Still the record here is more continuous and more striking than anywhere else. We trace here, as in a long procession, the gradual rising of the recumbent effigies : first, to lean their heads on their elbows, then to kneel, then to sit, then to stand on their feet, then to gesticulate, then to ascend out of tomb, or sea, or ruins, as the case may be. Every stage of sepulchral attitude is visible, from the knight of the thirteenth century, with his legs crossed on his stony couch, to the philanthropist of the nineteenth century, with his legs crossed far otherwise, as he lounges in his easy armchair. Forgive them ; it may be a breach of the rules of ecclesiastical order, but it is also the life of the nation, awkwardly, untowardly struggling into individual existence. It will enable future generations to know a Wilberforce as he actually was, no less than a Plantagenet prince as it was supposed he ought to be. At times the two streams of taste meet so abruptly, as to leave their traces almost side by side. The expiring mediæval art of Sir Francis Vere's monument confronts both in time and place the first rise of classical art in the monument of Sir George Holles. The brass effigy of the engineer Stephenson, in the homeliest of all modern costumes, carries to its utmost pitch the prosaic realities of our age, as much as the brass effigy of Sir Robert Wilson, a few yards off, in complete armour, carries to a no less extravagance its unreal romance.

We thus discern the evanescent phases of the judgments of taste, which ought to make the artists and the critics of each successive age, if not sceptical, at least modest, as to the immortality of their own reputations. We are sometimes shocked at the ruthless disregard of ancient days, with which the Reformers or the Puritans swept away the altars or the imagery of their predecessors. But we have seen how the same disregard of antiquity reaches back far earlier. '*Ecclesiam stravit istam quam tunc renovavit*' was the inscription which long glorified the memory of Henry III. for destroying the venerable Norman church of the Confessor. Henry V.'s Chantry absorbed a large part of the tombs of Eleanor and Philippa. Henry VII. razed to the ground what must have been the graceful Lady Chapel of Henry III. The first prodigious

intrusion of Pagan allegories, the first reckless mutilation of mediæval architecture by modern monuments, is the tomb of the favourite of Charles I., the patron and friend of Archbishop Laud. It was their sanction and influence that began the desecration, as it is now often thought, which to no section of Church or State is so repugnant as to the spiritual descendants of those to whom it then seemed the height of ecclesiastical propriety.

Or, again, we pass with scorn the enormous structures which Roubiliac raised in the Nave to General Wade and General Hargrave; but a great London antiquary declared of one of them, that 'Europe could hardly show a parallel to it;'¹ and the other was deemed by the artist himself so splendid a work, that he used to come and weep before it, to see that it was put too high to be appreciated.² The clumsy rocks and 'maritime monsters which we ridicule in the strange representation of Admiral Tyrell's death was, at the time, deemed 'a truly 'magnificent monument,'³ and its germ may even be seen in Addison's plaintive wish,⁴—'that our naval monuments might, 'like the Dutch, be adorned with rostral courses and naval 'ornaments, with beautiful festoons of seaweed, shells, and coral.' A fastidious correspondent of Pope, whilst he criticises the tombs already existing, proposes a remedy which to us appears worse than the disease.

I chose a place for my wife [says Aaron Hill] in the Abbey Cloisters—the wall of the church above being so loaded with marble as to leave me no room to distinguish her monument. But there is a low and unmeaning lumpishness in the vulgar style of monuments, which disgusts me as often as I look upon them; and, because I would avoid the censure I am giving, let me beg you to say whether there is significance in the draught, of which I enclose you a copy. The flat table behind is black, the figures are white marble. The whole of what you see is but part of the monument, and will be surrounded by pilasters, arising from a pediment of white marble, having its foundation on a black marble mountain, and supporting a cornice and dome that will ascend to the point of the cloister arch. About halfway up a craggy path, on the black mountain below, will be the figure of 'Time' in

¹ Malcolm, p. 169.

² Akermann, ii. 37.

³ Charnock's *Naval Biog.* v. 269.—I have myself observed persons above the class of rustics standing entranced before it, and calling it the 'master-piece of the Abbey.' When Wesley passed through the Abbey, Feb. 25,

1771, he recorded that 'the two monuments with which he thought none of the others worthy to be compared, 'are that of Mrs. Nightingale, and 'that of the Admiral rising out of his 'tomb at the Resurrection.'—*Journal*, iii. 426.

⁴ *Spectator*, No. 26.